The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

Hamburg, 23 July 1978
Seventeenth Year · No. 849 · By air

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Carter visit warms 'family' relations

Bremer Nachrichten

President Carter took his time before paying the Federal Republic of Germany his first visit, but once he arrived in Bonn the atmosphere was a family one.

Both sides knew that most points of friction which threatened to upset day-to-day relations after Mr Carter's inauguration had now been either alleviated or eliminated.

Jimmy Carter and Helmut Schmidt have both had to set aside their customary views more than once, so at odds have their political outlooks proved.

Schmidt was a level-headed experienced man of action, Carter a seeker, a missionary, a newcomer. Difficulties of adaptation were inevitable.

In Bonn both men were unmistakably keen to forget their past difficulties.

In connection with the Bonn economic summit, German spokesmen referred to differences in accent due to the two countries' respective viewpoints.

The Americans referred to sectors of agreement, differing viewpoints and common objectives. But prospects at the summit were rated as good.

Each side felt the other would be prepared, at the crucial moment, to contribute towards eventual compromise.

Many other agenda items were also dealt with briefly by way of mutual information. They included East-West ties, disarmament, Germany and Berlin, Africa and the Middle East.

"Basically we took the same view on all issues," the Chancellor said. But, interestingly enough, the Bonn government spokesman felt obliged to mention specifically that no differences of opinion has arisen on human rights.

Yet Bonn clearly preferred to support human rights in the East bloc quietly, rather than spectacularly and in public, like the United States.

Herr Schmidt mentioned the tens of thousands allowed to start a new life in the Federal Republic, where "they enjoy all civic rights" after coming from communist countries over the past 18 months.

This difference of viewpoint on method did not stop President Carter from repeating, at the first opportunity, his public lambasting of human rights violations in the Soviet Union.

While still in the Chancellor's Office President Carter was asked by journalists about sentences passed on civil rights activists in Moscow.

He hit out at the Soviet Union as usual on the subject, leaving the Chancellor with no option but to echo his sentiments.

This was the first time either Helmut Schmidt or his Social Democrats had given their views on the issue, despite numerous attempts by the Opposition Christian Democrats to induce Bonn to fire propaganda salvoes.

"Our relations are based on common values, fundamental convictions and widely identical interests," Walter Scheel said at an evening reception in Schloss Brühl.

Family visits are easily undertaken on such firm foundations, even when the heads of family differ in temperament. It seems fair to conclude that relations between Bonn and Washington are as good as ever.

Peter Hopen

(Bremer Nachrichten, 15 July 1978)

IN THIS ISSUE



Heads together: President Carter and Chancellor Schmidt deep in conversation with Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher (left) and US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance (right) during President Carter's talks in Bonn before the summit. (Photo: dpa)

Berlin homage stresses West's commitment

There was more than symbolic significance in Jimmy Carter signing Berlin's Golden Book at the foot of the Airlift Memorial on 15 July.

Nearly 30 years to the day after the start of the Berlin blockade a US President has paid homage to the men and women who gave their lives to save the city.

The people of Berlin were determined to resist the Soviet threat, earning American understanding, sympathy and admiration. The 1948 airlift followed as a powerful demonstration of practical support.

Berlin's desire to remain free transformed former enemies into allies and friends: German-American friendship dates back to Berlin and the days of the blockade and airlift.

It is still enormously important, as is readily apparent in the divided city. Berlin's determination to stay free is still underwritten by British, French and US Allied guarantees, with the United States as the principal power defending the free world politically in Berlin.

German-American relations have developed in many directions over the past 30 years, although the cordial partnership has not been free of tension, especially in recent years.

Economic interests clash, putting such a strain on relations that there are times when ties seem to consist of little more than monetary competition.

President Carter's visit to Berlin was an opportunity for recalling essentials. The Federal Republic of Germany is a cornerstone of the Atlantic alliance in Europe, for instance.

Good relations with the United States are a keynote of ties between Western Europe and America, laying crucial groundwork for the West's position in political disputes with the East, as Moscow has lately demonstrated.

Soviet propaganda having held its fire on Bonn, leading politicians in the coalition parties (but not members of the government) felt the Kremlin deserved a gesture of appreciation.

Choosing their words cautiously but unmistakeably, they dissociated themselves from President Carter's endorsement of human and civil rights al over the world.

But this was to encourage a trend which, taken to its logical conclusion, might nibble at the foundations of views held in common with the United States.

Mr Carter also visited the Berlin Wall

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Facing east: President Carter away from his entourage for a moment as he looks out over the Berlin Wall to East Berlin during his visit to the divided city. (Photo: dpa)

FOREIGN POLICY

Joint Franco-German thrust for European unity takes shape

France and Germany as the joint force behind European integration is a utopian idea that has long exercised a compelling fascination.

And despite derision and political, psychological and historical obstacles, it is an idea taking shape with the tenacity of an inexorable political process.

Has the moment of truth arrived at the Bonn summit, following so soon on the Common Market summit in Bremen?

Not for ages have the signs been so promising. President Giscard d'Estaing and Chancellor Schmidt seem to be repeating the scenario that struck contemporaries of Charles de Gaulle and Konrad Adenauer as so miraculous 20 years ago.

They are an unusual combination, men coming from identical horizons and heading towards identical horizons, men with personal, intellectual and philosophical affinities who are able to surmount seemingly insuperable obstacles and to force their fellow-countrymen to make common cause.

General de Gaulle and Chancellor Adenauer, as near neighbours from northern France and the Rhineland, faced the decline of France as a great power and the total destruction of the German Reich.

They decided that Franco-German friendship had to lay the groundwork for a future united Europe.

From further afield (Auvergne and Hamburg respectively), President Giscard and Chancellor Schmidt face an international economic order that is a study in disorder.

They advocate a restoration of economic order by a European monetary system that will again be basically a Franco-German arrangement.

The two moves, political and monetary, complement each another and are pillars of European integration.

In a 13 July interview with *Le Monde* President Giscard made an observation that sounds spontaneous but goes deeper:

"When, at the end of our consultations (at the April 1978 Copenhagen summit) we tried to frame a joint document, we noticed that the Germans



and French could have done so immediately."

Thus Bonn and Paris agreed as a matter of course on the form monetary cooperation in Europe ought to take.

Their paper, based on much joint and individual reflection by leaders who have both held economic affairs and finance portfolios, was finalised at crucial talks with Chancellor Schmidt in Hamburg.

It will form the basis of the proposed European currency zone, and if the others, Britain in particular, join in it will have been a truly impressive demonstration of a joint Franco-German force behind European integration.

Giscard and Schmidt have for years been said to be inseparable, and it is certainly true that unless they are inseparable Europe never will be.

Their common purpose has been demonstrated at 30 Franco-German summits in Paris and Bonn, but wish and reality have invariably been far apart.

Two serious handicaps have bedevilled an unequivocal Franco-German merger, the first being France's past as an international power.

This past was not only incarnate in the General with his keen sense of history; his successors have not entirely lost sight of it either.

The second handicap was the special relationship between Bonn and Washington as a result of World War Two and its consequences for Germany.

Ties between Bonn and Washington, based on Germany's desire for security, proved a particularly heavy burden on relations between Bonn and Paris.

Time and time again French governments have lamented that Bonn always looked in Washington's direction before moving closer to Europe.

These handicaps may not have disappeared but they now seem much less of a drawback. France has come to acknowledge its limits, although it retains responsibility in Africa and is prepared to shoulder it energetically, as recent events have shown.

But Europe now pursues a common policy in regions such as the Middle East, South and East Africa and Asia, where France used to act on its own or in concert with other great powers.

This change has been made possible by M. Giscard d'Estaing's pragmatic realism — his unconventional pursuit of foreign policy as a substitute for economic power.

An even more significant change has taken place in ties between Bonn and Washington now that Germany has moved into sensitive world markets and Uncle Sam has rolled up his sleeves in response to the challenge.

Intentionally or not, the decline of the dollar on exchange markets has also proved — and continues to prove — an increasing handicap to German exports.

"Germany has come to appreciate," M. Giscard d'Estaing cautiously said in his 13 July interview, "that it might be interesting if Europe were to aim at greater autonomy in a number of sectors."

He indicated that one factor which has helped change Bonn's mind had been nuclear policy.

Whatever the truth, it would be gratifying if France were not alone in abandoning the burden that has hampered its progress towards an independent Europe motivated by its own interests only.

This does not mean that Europe must seek a confrontation with the United States. This is an option that politicians in neither France nor Germany would endorse.

But Europe ought to summon the courage to become an equal partner of the United States as one of the seven world "poles" M. Giscard d'Estaing sees as the basis of a flourishing world economy.

August Graf Kageneck

(Die Welt, 14 July 1978)

Berlin homage

Continued from page 1

and saw for himself the true features of a political system which claims that it alone serves mankind, yet in fact treads human rights underfoot for power's sake.

Chancellor Schmidt stood beside the President and this too was more than a demonstration. It testified to their joint political responsibility for the freedom and viability of Berlin.

A glimpse across the Wall impressively showed both statesmen the limits to detente. Determination is required of them both. Human rights and the right of self-determination must be defended courageously, both in Berlin and elsewhere in the world.

Thus Berlin showed both President Carter and Chancellor Schmidt that they share obligations which go beyond their respective economic interests.

Peter Schiwy

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 15 July 1978)

Third World eyes Bonn summit with caution

Outsiders, for the most part Third World countries, naturally cast mistrustful and envious glances at the Bonn summit of the wealthy nations.

Japan may be a club member, but the overwhelming coloured majority of the world's population still sees the Bonn summit as a gathering of white-skinned capitalists.

The members of this exclusive club, they feel, are conferring as though it were a members-only decision on how to overcome economic difficulties.

Yet the Third World can no longer see the situation in wholely simplistic terms.

Confrontation between the West and the Arab world over Israel's role in the Middle East has yet to be resolved.

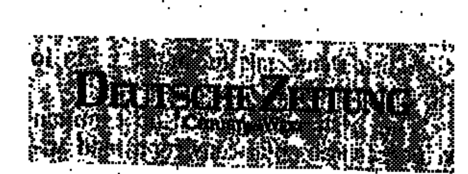
In southern Africa black and white are inexorably bound for a head-on clash, so tension between Europe and its neighbours in both the Middle East and black Africa will continue.

Beyond these immediate and acute problems, most coloured peoples of whatever ideological hue appreciate that only the Western industrial states can provide the financial and technological assistance they need for development.

The Soviet Union and its East European allies have proved reliable arms suppliers but enjoy the worst possible reputation as economic — industrial and trading — partners.

Afro-Asian governments are increasingly aware that a disastrous economic crisis in the West (such as might, for instance, result from a headlong increase in certain commodity prices) might boomerang.

Many Third World countries might be



economically and politically destabilised as a result.

The seven Western leaders meeting in Bonn have a chance of differentiating between categories of country in the Third World, for years wrongly seen as a uniform anti-Western bloc.

Today's really privileged countries are the Opec states that, through no accomplishment of their own, have overnight joined the ranks of the rich. Indeed, they are satiated.

Let no illusions be harboured: there may only be five million or so Saudi Arabians but the financial weight Riyadh carries will undoubtedly have been at the back of the Bonn summit statesmen's minds.

The French president and German chancellor will have urged the world's "haves" in Bonn to stress the so-called North-South dialogue — verbally at least.

Here too it will not do to oversimplify. Africa and Asia are in no way comparable, let alone given to solidarity.

European development aid, as part of an international Western economic strategy, will naturally tend to concentrate on Africa, with the emphasis on the drought-stricken Sahel zone.

Europe is less able to help in the South Asian poverty belt from Pakistan to Java. Here fundamental reforms (or revolutions) must come from within.

These countries must bring about change for the better themselves, with Japan playing a special role solely in the Asian sector.

Superficially, the Bonn summit is overshadowed by an imminent deterioration in East-West ties and a permanent North-South crisis.

In reality, tomorrow's world will be shaped by the gradual emergence of a great power with a population of 900 million — People's China.

Recent trends in Vietnam indicate that the conflict between Peking and Moscow has grown so acute that the Chinese communists would even welcome Western economic consolidation with the greater military potential it implies.

The Soviet Union is desperately trying to tip the balance in its favour in Africa and Asia and may well be doing so with a special fear in mind.

Moscow may believe that in the foreseeable future the seven leading Western economic powers who met in Bonn will share interests, albeit on the basis of different premises, with People's China.

Peter Scholl-Latour

(Deutsche Zeitung, 14 July 1978)

The German Tribune

Publisher: Friedrich Reinecke. Editor-in-Chief: Otto Heinz. Editor: Alexander Anthony. English language sub-editor: Peter Temple. — Distribution Manager: Georgine von Platen. Advertising Manager: Peter Boeckmann.

Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH. 23 Schoene Aussicht, Hamburg 76. Tel.: 22 85 1. Telex: 02 14733. Bonn bureau: 65 Adenauerallee, 53 Bonn. Tel.: 21 90 00. Telex: 08 86398.

Advertising rates list No. 12 — Annual subscription DM 35.

Printed by Krögers Buch- und Verlagsdruckerei, Hamburg-Blankenese. Distributed in the USA by: MASS MAILINGS, Inc. 540 West 24th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.

All articles which THE GERMAN TRIBUNE reprints are published in cooperation with the editorial staffs of leading newspapers of the Federal Republic of Germany. They are complete translations of the original text, in no way abridged nor editorially redrafted. THE GERMAN TRIBUNE also publishes quarterly supplements featuring articles selected from German periodicals.

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HOME AFFAIRS

New Green Action Party poses vital questions

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

Although one is sceptical of many comparisons between present-day Bonn and the Weimar Republic, one dogma of German party history applies to both: new parties only have a chance when the old ones fail.

Herbert Gruhl's proposed new party is a case in point. Only a few days ago, while still a CDU MP, Gruhl gave a lecture to his local party association in Barsinghausen near Hanover. The discussion of his theories on the environment and growth, energy and nuclear power stations underlined his isolation: of the 40 people present, only one supported him. But if Gruhl, who has now given up his CDU memberships, talks to an evening class forum, the audience is ten times larger and only one in 40 is against him.

During the last energy debate in the Bundestag Gruhl was out on a limb. He rejected a final offer of discussion from CDU party leader Helmut Kohl recently and reached agreement with the Green List in Bavaria, having previously been under pressure by the environmental (GLU) parties in Lower Saxony and Hesse.

His recent television interview on Report, in which he explained why he had left the CDU and joined the environmentalists, was merely the end of a process of alienation developing for years.

We can assume that there was political as well as private alienation. No one side is entirely to blame. In the interview, Gruhl complained that Helmut Kohl had no time for him, yet Kohl had on previous occasions offered to discuss the situation with his awkward party colleague, had ensured that Gruhl's voice was heard within the party and inivited him for talks in August.

The reason for the final split was not Hasselmann's remark that the CDU "could not tolerate doubters," nor was it the behaviour of Baden-Württemberg Prime Minister Hans Filbinger. It was basically the result of serious differences of political princible.

The relationship between Gruhl and the CDU began to turn sour when Gruhl published his sensational book *Ein Planet wird geplündert* (A Planet Is Plundered). In only three years, 240,000 copies were sold, more than any other political book in our time.

After the publication of his book, Gruhl's influence outside the party grew and his influence within it declined. Both the CDU as a whole and the CDU parliamentary party were so unresponsive to Gruhl's message that they almost failed to notice his new identity. They avoided discussion with him and Gruhl complained that "they acted as if my problems simply did not exist."

Gruhl now fears that none of the three major parties will pay his theories the attention they deserve, hence his recourse to his own party, which he wishes to call Green Action Future (GAZ).

As long as the major parties maintain their belief in growth, Gruhl has little chance of influencing the programmes of the CDU-CSU, SPD and FDP to any great extent. Now his ideas form the basis for an environmental party. His switch was therefore quite consistent: "I had to cut the Gordian knot," he says. Does he now hope for allies?

The Green Lists cannot get very far with Fredersdorf's plan for tax reform. And for Fredersdorf, who wants to call his new party the "Freedom and Justice Party," problems of the environment are as irrelevant as tax problems are for Gruhl.

Gruhl does not believe that Fredersdorf is a serious political force and he now believes he has more powerfull political allies in Frankfurt zoologist Professor Bernhard Grzimek as a vote-winner and educational psychologist Christa Mewes as spokesman on education.

Doubts about the Green Lists' potential for success remain, despite favourable polls which reckon they can count on a solid six per cent of voters.

Where will the party get money and candidates for the next elections. What will happen when the Green Lists are in parliament? With whom will they form coalitions? (Gruhl says: "Our programme is equally far from those of both the CDU and the SPD).

Could the environmentalists bring about another grand coalition between CDU and SPD? Can a small party in opposition really influence politics and go some way towards achieving its aims.

Yet there is an even more important preliminary question. Have the Green Lists any chance of getting into parliament if they split up in other Länder as in Hesse and Hamburg. "One of our main problems at the moment is drawing a demarcation line between ourselves and communist groups and parties," says Gruhl, adding that there are "many false environmenralists."

Despite all the scepticism, the possibility of a medium-scale reform in the German party system has never been as great as it is now in the last 20 years. The new bourgeois extra-parliamentary opposition is no mere protest party. The GLU achieved a respectable share of the vote without money even in Lower Saxony. In a few weeks, it was able to put up candidates in 98 out of 99 constituencies. This could also be done in Bavaria and Hesse.

What is the position in North Rhine-Westphalia, the largest Land? Few workers come along to Gruhl's meetings and workers do not change party allegiance quickly. The environmental movement appeals particularly to middle class women and young people. It also appeals to those whose incomes are high enough for them to be able to live simply, (that is, buy their food from health food shops). There must be something rotten about a society in which living simply is so expensive.

Green, of course, is not only reasonable. It is also in. It is also chic. There is the danger that like many fashions it could be just a passing phase. Yet the potential of those who are dissatisfied with the Bonn parties is growing all the time (psephologists talk of 25 per cent).

Not even those who said that the SPD was a tax reform and the FDP an environmental party really believed their own words. There are increasing numbers of voters who simply do not believe the established parties are capable of solving the problems of the future. CDU general secretary Geissler recently said that all the parties in Bonn were neglecting the "dimension of the future."

The new party had to come and it had to come now. Herbert Gruhl could not have maintained his credibility as a CDU candidate in the 1980 general elections. Now he can present the voters with a simple calculation. The established parties want to solve almost all problems with more growth. They are aiming for a growth rate of five per cent a year. If this rate continued for the next 70 years, this would mean a fourfold increase. Can we really present this lunacy to our children as a sensible aim. *Do we* produce in order to live or do we live in order to produce?

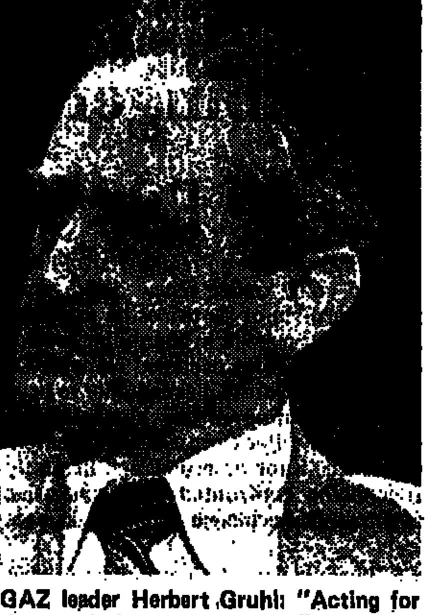
The first heady phase of industrialisation ended 200 years ago. If we are to avoid a terrifying awakening, then doubts about the old growth policies are not only permissible but necessary.

In the last 30 years economics has become a kind of theology, ousting other disciplines and other theories. Now this position has been called in question. It could be that in future the major political controversies will be fought out between the destroyers and the preservers of this planet. The established parties will decide the future of the Green Lists and these parties are going through a legitimation crisis.

Franz Alt

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 16 July 1978)

(Cartoon: Walter Hanel/Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger)



GAZ leader Herbert Gruhl: "Acting for the population as a whole ..." (Photo: Sven Simon)

Gruhl states case for going Green

The Green Action Future (GAZ) party founded by former CDU MP Herbert Gruhl presented its party programme and statutes in Bonn recently.

The party executive consists of scientists and freelancers who were previously members of one of the four major parties.

According to its statutes, the GAZ is "a political party which stands on the ground of the Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany." The party, based in Bonn, requires its members "at all times to act on behalf of the interests of the population as a whole and not just for group interests."

Bochum astronomist Heinz Kaminski and Professor Wilhelm Huster pf Münster University were elected deputy party chairmen. Kaminski only recently resigned from the SPD. Professor Huster has become known as a committed opponent of atomic energy.

Gruhl told the press that the Green Manifesto was a programme of the new environmental party's basic principles, with the following passage as the most important: "Our policies have to take into account our children and grandchildren and future generations. The conservation of the ecological bases of all life — air, water, earth, the plant and animal world — are preconditions of their survival".

According to the GAZ, everything ought to be simpler: "People, administration, technology, traffic ... Only then will we get more freedom, less pressure to consume and to perform and consequently less stress, fewer neuroses and other illnesses."

The GAZ is against the use of atomic energy, believing it is superfluous in the present economy and energy climate. The environmentalists also wish to move away from the free market economy's striving for growth.

As for foreign policy, the programme is for partnership and peaceful co-existence with all countries, including those of the East bloc. At the same time, it insists on the right of self-determination for all people and races including the Germans.

The GAZ rejects all atomic weapons and in particular the "life-annihilating neutron bomb." Its aim is an atom-free zone in Europe and gradual disarmament among all powers.

The CDU says that with his programme Gruhl had become a political outsider.

Diethart Goos

(Die Welt, 14 July 1978)

■ CONTROVERSY

Filbinger: from tragedy to poor melodrama

Baden Württemberg Premier Hans Filbinger has come under renewed fire since the unearthing of sentences he passed at naval courts-martial in the dying days of World War Two in occupied Norway. Dr Filbinger previously claimed only to have been prosecuting officer at the court-martial of Walter Gröger, a rating sentenced to death for desertion, and that only after being confronted with conclusive documentary evidence a few weeks ago.

The Filbinger affair could have been an embarrassing but enlightening part of the tragedy that was Nazi Germany. But it has now been reduced to third-rate melodrama.

Were Hans Filbinger to remain Baden-Württemberg Prime Minister in Stuttgart he would not only be a confounded nuisance but also a provincial embarrassment.

Only recently he authorised a statement that criticism of him as an individual was aimed primarily at his tenure of the premiership.

Assuming he actually believes this to be true, Dr Filbinger can no longer doubt that his proven lies have disqualified him not only as an individual but also as Prime Minister.

It is high time he tendered his resignation – as soon as possible and with as little fuss as possible. Who can tell what far-fetched explanations he may yet expect the public to swallow?

His part in the court-martial of Walter Gröger, had there not been such a hue and cry, could have shed light on the way a man can maintain his personal integrity when the daily routine of history assigns him, unwittingly or against his will, the role of official of an inhuman and totalitarian regime.

A man wise enough and sufficiently detached to remain self-critical in view of the less savoury options open to him will find some way of avoiding hypocrisy.

A man unconvinced that he is cut out for martyrdom ought not to demand heroism from all and sundry, certainly not when the war's outcome is a foregone conclusion and he is in a position well away from the shooting.

If Hans Filbinger had admitted he lacked the courage to help Walter Gröger in the dock at a time when it would have been difficult indeed to help him, who would have seen fit to cast the first stone?

A debate at this level could have had a cleansing effect, possibly deflating the complacency and intolerance that increasingly typify public life in the Federal Republic.

Many a wrong note may have been sounded in the debate about Hans Filbinger's wartime role, but really it is Dr Filbinger himself who has repeatedly sabotaged a worthwhile discussion of the issues.

As a politician given to arrogantly and relentlessly confronting his adversaries with their own shortcomings, he would, of course, have encountered resistance in pleading for indulgence.

But he forfeited the chance of exoneration that might have been his in a humane society by claiming moral infallibility of a kind no-one could have claimed during the Nazi era.

The only people for whom this claim may fairly be made are those who were either willing or obliged to join the ranks of the resistance and the Third Reich's victims.

Dr Filbinger is incomprehensibly and provocatively hardhearted, but he does adhere to standards, and these standards *do not admit of the person morally responsible absenting himself in a morally indefensible fashion.*

A man who claims to have been blameless over the only execution with which he ever had anything to do cannot for a moment pretend to have forgotten all about it.

And if he should feel that no accusations whatever can fairly be levelled at him, he will not need to try and take discussion of the affair out of the spotlight.

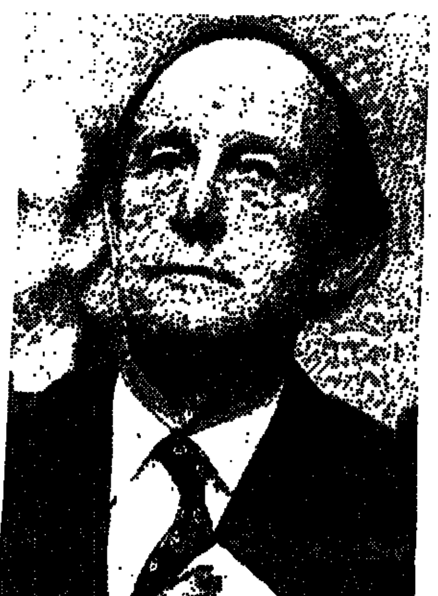
If Dr Filbinger is going to dismiss the entire matter as party-political tactics how does he account for the array of awkward questions in newspapers and magazines raging from the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* to *Der Spiegel.*

Does this represent mud-slinging by extremists and terrorists? And as for the various excuses and exonerations, why did Dr Filbinger mislead his own supporters?

Yet Hans Filbinger seems determined to drag everyone with him into his personal catastrophe. He is heedless of the blow *to the credibility of political leaders* his behaviour entails, particularly among younger critics.

But can he afford to ignore the blow to his fellow-Christian Democrats' credibility his cynical assertion that escalation of the affair would only boost their confidence in him has dealt?

How can be possibly believe this still to be the case now that the declarations and statements he has made as a man of



Hans Filbinger: catastrophe of a complacent man.

(Photo: Marianne von der Lancken)

honour have been shown to be mere scraps of paper?

He can no longer even hope that his incurably easy conscience will be excused as the result of a pathologically bad memory.

No-one who recalls how he obliged another ex-naval judge a few weeks ago to withdraw allegations about the controversial courts-martial can possibly believe Dr Filbinger had forgotten about the two death sentences.

The catastrophe of a complacent man is complete. The only question that remains is how long Hans Filbinger intends to force the CDU to share the consequences after having been misled by him on the controversial issue.

There may have been a time when his potential successors as Baden-Württemberg premier might have wondered whether it would be better for them if he were to step down now or later.

But it no longer matters whether Lothar Späth, CDU leader in the state assembly, or Manfred Rommel, CDU Oberbürgermeister of Stuttgart, stands the better chance of succession.

What matters is that Hans Filbinger must go, and go fast and quietly. He has already said more than enough than is good for him.

Robert Leicht

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 7 July 1978)

Gerhard Meyer is new Berlin justice chief

Gerhard Moritz Meyer, it was recently rumoured among Hamburg Free Democrats, might well try to establish himself as an FDP leader in the city after the party's disastrous showing in the 4 June elections.

Yet now Meyer, 41, is off to Berlin as successor to Jürgen Baumann, who resigned as justice senator over the terrorist breakout from Moabit gaol.

It is a quirk of fate, since Meyer was Free Democratic justice senator in Hamburg until a few weeks ago.

He has been dubbed by fellow-Free Democrats as stand-in for FDP professors who have come a political cropper. It is certainly the second time he has come to the rescue.

In March 1977 he took over from Professor Ulrich Klug as justice senator in Hamburg for 15 months. He will take over from Professor Baumann for an initial nine months until the elections in Berlin.

Before taking over from Professor Klug he was leader of the FDP in the Hamburg city council for three years. He was also personnel manager of a Hamburg aluminium works.

Meyer made an unsuccessful bid for nomination as an FDP senator after the 1974 Hamburg elections, but failed to muster enough support within the party.

As Ulrich Klug's successor he was a success, bridging the gap that had arisen between Professor Klug and the not unduly progressive majority of Hamburg judges.

He was criticised by fellow-Free Democrats when, after the murder of employers' leader Hanns-Martin Schleyer last October, he had a plate-glass window installed between lawyers and alleged terrorists at the city's remand centre.

Hamburg was the first Land to introduce this precaution, but others soon followed.

Now Gerhard Meyer has moved to Berlin, where he went to school after his family fled from the GDR. If he is as astute in Berlin as he proved in Hamburg, he may well make a success of the job there too.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 8 July 1978)

Hochhuth's allegations 'no libel'

Baden-Württemberg Premier Hans Filbinger's libel action against playwright Rolf Hochhuth and the Hamburg weekly *Die Zeit* was dismissed by a Stuttgart court on 13 July.

Judge Helmut Kiesel ruled that the accusations made by the playwright were strongly-worded and critical but not actionable.

Dr Filbinger had applied for an injunction forbidding Hochhuth to continue to accuse him in writing of being a "frightful lawyer" who prosecuted members of the armed forces according to Nazi law even after the war was over.

The court ruled that Hochhuth was entitled to call Dr Filbinger "Hitler's naval judge." But the playwright is no longer to claim that the Stuttgart Prime Minister is a free man today merely because people who knew him kept quiet.

Hochhuth had already agreed to withdraw this allegation.

Judge Kiesel told the packed courtroom that Dr Filbinger only appeared to have lost the case. The truth was that the allegations over which injunctions had already been granted had been withdrawn by Herr Hochhuth.

The playwright's further comments had been within the limits of fair comment as weighed against the reputation of the individual, especially a Prime Minister, for whom stricter yardsticks applied than might be used to measure the conduct of a private individual.

Dr Filbinger, the judge *said, had to*



What's my line?

(Cartoon: Klaus Pielert/Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung)

accept being assessed in part on his past behaviour.

The court noted three contexts in which Hochhuth's further comments could not be judged libellous. Additional source material was not necessary, the known facts about the Pätzold and Gröger courts-martial and Dr Filbinger's comment on a soldier's July 1945 complaint being considered sufficient.

In sentencing Pätzold to six months' imprisonment in June 1945 for insubordination, Dr Filbinger disregarded the fact that Pätzold's battery commander had told him at gunpoint: "I shall shoot

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■ DEFENCE

Training change brings new Bundeswehr era

The Bundeswehr Academies have entered a new era in which officer cadets will receive instruction in teaching methods and sociology to help them cope with the army of the future.

Historian and political scientist Professor Klaus von Schubert recently told the Bundeswehr Academy in Munich:

"We do not know what problems we will have to overcome in the year 2000. All we can say is that the development of a technologically sophisticated army in an industrial state will put increasing demands on officers' technical qualifications.

"Social change in an army of conscripts will also require greater social competence from officers. It is foreseeable that the development of new, increasingly accurate and lethal weapons and the extreme concentration of armaments in this part of the world will mean officers must be capable of controlling arsenals, overcoming crises, preventing wars and playing their part in the reduction of armaments.

"We do not know if we central Europeans will reach the year 2000 as civilised human beings. Our chances, whether they be great or small, depend not least on the officers we are training today and on their ability to master the instruments they will use."

The speech marks the beginning of an important new phase in the five-year history of the Bundeswehr Academies. A new department of social science has been set up in which officer cadets will in future be required to study teaching methods and sociological elements, a course known EGA.

Previously they had been required to take an introductory course in teaching and social science, a part of the academies' programme from the beginning in which the elements were incorporated in various subjects.

The heavy demands of the intensive three-year academy course meant that teaching and the social sciences were treated as a subsidiary subjects.

A committee of lecturers who studied the structure and contents of the sociological components of the EGA has criticised the form of the course up to now. In the preface to their course outline, to be the basis of the social sciences course, they write: "The reason for this reform is the fact that the legitimation of Bundeswehr Academies was connected with the intention to give these officers a grounding in pedagogical and social science. This intention has not yet been satisfactorily carried out."

Professor von Schubert, who will remain Senate advisor to the Munich Bundeswehr Academy until the new social sciences department is set up, said the situation arose because, in his opinion, "military reforms since Scharnhorst have always been reduced in the end to the technocratic element, either because the pendulum of reaction swung back or because elements of the course which did not seem to be of direct relevance were dropped: in the end a false dichotomy was set up between warriors and thinkers and the thinker was sacrificed for the warrior, the weapons technician."

Schubert said the Bundeswehr had also succumbed to this tendency. There had been the danger of a similar development after the educational reform introduced by Helmut Schmidt and Thomas Ellwein. There was a tendency for attention to be focussed too exclusively on technical aspects which led to widespread criticism from the public and the universities.

"We are now changing course in accordance with the original aims and the concept at the foundation," Schubert said.

Secretary of state Andreas von Bülow of the Bonn Ministry of Defence contrasted the fears of the military with those of academics. Bülow, who has argued and worked intensively for a separate department of social sciences in which teaching and sociological sciences would be taught, said: "At the Bundeswehr academies the military are not happy about the officers of the future being left to their own devices to reflect in the Humboldt style.

"On the other hand, the professors are afraid that the influence of the military and the principle of command and obedience could creep into the academies."

Bülow considered both fears to be exaggerated. Both sides should try to work together productively, the essential thing being to find and cultivate a basis of trust and to eliminate mutual fears.

The professor and the secretary of state both said they considered the neglect of the introductory course, which was meant to establish closer connections between the lecturers and the officers, a big problem.

The anti-Semitic and neo-Nazi incidents at the Bundeswehr Academy are still fresh in our memories (and court proceedings against the culprits still have not started). These incidents indicate the direction in which the Munich academy must now go. Under the heading "The tension between freedom and control", two study goals have been set.

Firstly to gain insight into political causes and effects and to gain basic knowledge of the conditions in which political reality comes about, is maintained and can be changed (that is the tension between freedom and control).

Secondly, to gain knowledge of the basic procedures for the assessment of political reality and insight into the criteria for judging these procedures.

According to the lecturers' catalogue, students should be taught about force, violence, power and control; the formation of groups, organisation, order; interests and ideologies. They should learn to understand social structures and processes, the function of social and legal institutions, be able to recognise and criticise prejudice and achieve an "interdisciplinary understanding" of political facts and problems. There are ten points in all.

A total of two hours a week would be spent on the subject. For each year of the course, the lecturers of the department of social science after discussion and a vote, would agree on a teaching programme for one main subject area. Courses are planned, for example, on the Division of Germany and Militarism. At the end of the EGA course students would take a diploma examination.

Secretary of state von Bülow says: "Of course it will not be possible to give the officer a comprehensive historical, pedagogical and political education. What we can do is to ensure that the officer, thanks to his scientific training and study of selected political themes, has acquired the methods which enable him to deal with the different and complex problems of modern life which he will have to face in the future."

In two years' time the Bundeswehr Academy will analyse whether it is any nearer to achieving this aim.

Ulrich Mackensen

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 13 July 1978)

Continued from page 4

you like a mad dog," the Stuttgart court ruled.

Had this point been taken into account mitigating circumstances would surely have been applicable, the court said. In view of the Pätzold case, Dr Filbinger could fairly be claimed to have passed judgment under Nazi laws.

Had Dr Filbinger been right in claiming to have been opposed to the Nazis, the sentence passed on Pätzold ought surely to have been more lenient.

Yet the sentence was redolent of phrases such as manliness and law and order and failed to indicate the slightest change in Dr Filbinger's outlook. It seemed reasonable in the circumstances to describe him as a "frightful lawyer."

In respect of the Gröger court-martial, the judge wondered why the plaintiff had not tried to delay the proceedings. "A few days gained here and there might have made all the difference."

He added that to his knowledge there was no provision in military law requiring the prosecuting officer to supervise execution of the sentence.

"By 16 March 1945 everyone with any common sense realised that the war could not go on much longer," the judge said.

In the Möbius and Forstmeier cases Dr Filbinger had demonstrted his tactical skill. "It matters less that he might not have been successful (in any attempt to delay proceedings); what matters is that he never even tried."

Dr Filbinger was ordered to pay two-thirds of the costs, Rolf Hochhuth and *Die Zeit* a sixth each. *Renate Faerber*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 14 July 1978)

Opposition slams quality of military training

Manfred Wörner, CDU-CSU defence spokesman, severely criticised the standard of training in the Bundeswehr at a recent CDU defence conference in Nuremberg.

Wörner said military practice and soldierly skills were neglected to an irresponsible degree and this meant that not all possible advantages could be obtained from new weapons systems. Not enough attention was paid to basic infantry training, in many cases night training was inadequate, and there was next to no training in subversive fighting, although this form of warfare was practised and prepared for in the Warsaw Pact countries.

Wörner said the inadequate conception of officer and NCO training was a pressing problem in the Bundeswehr. He criticised the obsession with ever more perfect regulations, which narrowed the scope of military leaders, and the social disadvantages of soldiers.

The success of investments in national security depended on the Bundeswehr's ability to attract talented and committed young men and not just young men looking for a job.

In Wörner's view the most pressing task was to bring the structure of the Bundeswehr into line with the new tank and weapons systems. He said Minister of Defence and former Finance Minister Hans Apel (SPD) would have to learn that he could not play the part of Defence and Finance Minister simultaneously or, even worse, the part of Finance Minister within the Ministry of Defence. *dpa*

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 2 July 1978)

Luftwaffe gets new top man

On 11 October the Luftwaffe will have a new inspector when Lieutenant-General Gerhard Limberg goes into retirement after three-and-a-half years in office.

His successor will be Lieutenant-General Friedrich Obleser, now commander of the Luftwaffe support commando in Wahn, Cologne.

Limberg played a part in the choice of Obleser for the top post in the Luftwaffe command. In his view there is no general more suited for the job.

From 1981 the air squadrons of the Federal Republic of Germany will be flying Tornadoes (formerly known as MRCA) which it is building jointly with Britain and Italy. Obleser is thoroughly familiar with the swing-wing aircraft as he has been working on the MRCA development programme since 1970. In autumn 1971 he was Limberg's successor as special commissioner for the weapon system, which Helmut Schmidt once described as the biggest armament project since the birth of Christ.

After Limberg, Obleser will probably be the last Luftwaffe general with World War Two experience. Obleser will be 55 when he takes office and if he feels up to it and is not promoted to even higher things, he could remain inspector until 1983. By then the generals born in 1930 will be old and experienced enough to take over at the top of the Luftwaffe, even though they were hardly more than children in 1945.

Like Limberg, Obleser was trained as a jet pilot in the early days of the Bundeswehr. He knows the various airmen's associations well and commanded a fighter bomber squadron. When he joined the pilots, he caused a shock by saying "Now we can get down to the real flying." Fighter bombers claim that no other pilots fly as accurately.

The episode did not harm his reputation. He is considered to be a pragmatic perfectionist and, being born in Lower Austria, people reckon he has the charm and sense of duty of a "Prussian Viennese."

The Luftwaffe will certainly benefit from the leadership of a cool analyst at the head of Staff Department III Operations. *Rüdiger Moniac*

(Die Welt, 12 July 1978)

■ INVESTMENT

DM travels abroad in search of profits

West German companies have invested more than DM50,000m abroad since 1952. Chemicals manufacturers head the list, with foreign investment totalling DM9,400m, roughly 20 per cent. A poor second come electrical engineering, banks and insurance, iron and steel, mechanical engineering, oil and motors. In recent years investors have increasingly chosen to put their money in the United States, due largely to the dollar's weakness against the deutschemark. This has made it tougher to export expensive items made in Germany to the United States but less expensive to invest in America itself. So sound business sense has prompted firms to set up US subsidiaries to supply the 200-odd million people in the North American market.

In slump-hit industries one of the main reasons given for why business is so bad is that companies are reluctant to invest.

Yet both business and private investors are on a spending spree abroad. In 1976 and 1977 more than DM2,600m was invested in the United States, corresponding to more than half German investment in North America between 1952 and 1975.

The latest and most important venture since the trend began in the early 70s is the Volkswagen works in Pennsylvania, but it was chemicals manufacturers who started the ball rolling.

Hoechst, BASF and Bayer each invested roughly $150m in the United States. Last year Bayer took over the Miles Laboratories for $216m, for instance.

Other blue chip investors followed suit. Daimler-Benz bought out Euclid, the truck manufacturers. Bertelsmann spent $36m on a 51-per-cent stake in Bantam Books.

Bleyle built a knitwear factory in Georgia. Siemens plans to set up subsidiaries in Florida and New York. Burda, the publishers, own a sausage factory in Missouri.

Henkell, the wine and spirits company, have bought vineyards of their own in California and will in future be dealing in home-grown US wine.

Flick have bought a stake in a New York chemical company and a skyscraper in Houston. Otto, the mail-order firm, have bought an office block in Manhattan.

US property worth an estimated DM1,580m was bought last year, mainly by West German but also by Swedish and French investors.

Foreign investment in US real estate has increased at such an alarming rate that government registration has been suggested.

What has prompted such a bumper crop of capital exports? Whatever the reasons, the phenomenon is well on the way to becoming an escape valve for investors sick and tired of the continued depression in this country and Western Europe.

One reason is, of course, the favourable exchange rate of the deutschemark in relation to the dollar. After two devaluations of the dollar and floating rates since the early 70s, the dollar nosedived to less than DM2 last spring, after having stood at DM4 for years.

The dollar may have recovered slightly, but it is still substantially undervalued in terms of purchasing power.

Second, investors are motivated by wage and price costs, a headache not only in the land of the deutschemark but also elsewhere in Western Europe.

Industrial production costs have risen inexorably since the mid-60s due to welfare concessions and wage rises felt to be tolerable at a time of full employment and economic boom.

What with higher wages, longer paid holidays and more generous social security provisions, German workers were earning as much as, and in some cases more than, their US counterparts by the early 70s.

So now production costs are lower in the United States than in West Germany — and other West European countries.

In Sweden, for instance, payroll costs per man-hour average $8.27, as against $6.90 in the United States. Even during a recession this difference cannot be offset altogether.

Rising commodity costs have also boosted production costs on the European side of the Atlantic. The higher prices for raw materials have hit European countries, which have few natural resources of their own.

Last, there is the spectre of communism ("Reds under the bed") stalking boardrooms.

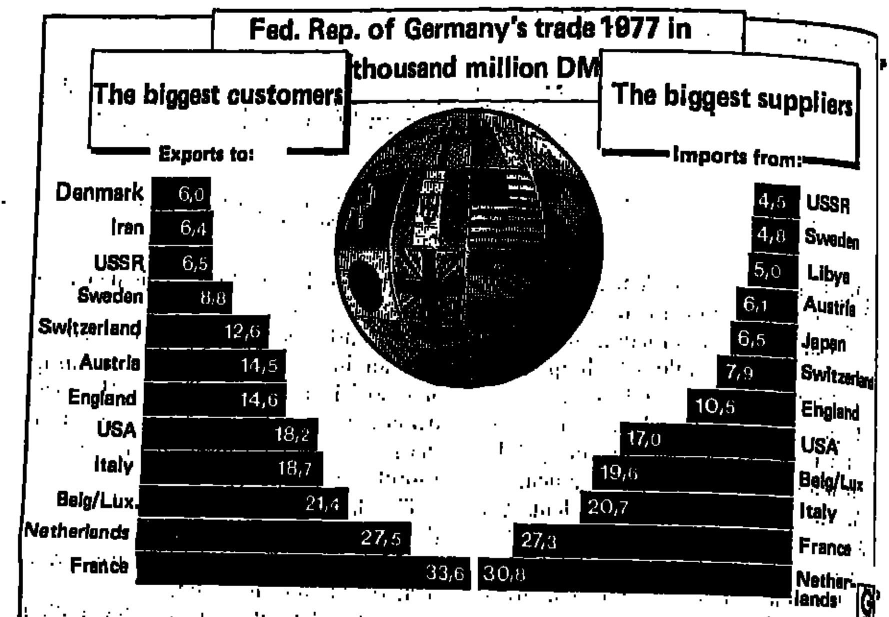
"I have no way of knowing," a German factory-owner recently told an American reporter, "whether I will still be the owner of my company in the Federal Republic ten years from now.

"That is why we have greater confidence in your future than in our own."

Businessmen are less worried about a communist takeover in their own country than by the possibility of communists coming to power elsewhere in Western Europe, leading to complications and trade restrictions.

Such fears may only be hypothetical, but they have induced nearly all major companies to transfer part of their business to the United States as the potential last bastion of capitalism.

Should their activities be curtailed in Europe, they now feel reassured that they will be able to hold their own with their US operations.



This only really matters when the consequences as forecast are borne in mind. The OECD expects production costs to continue to improve in America's favour.

The Paris-based organisation representing two dozen industrialised countries reckons America's GNP will increase by over four per cent, whereas the figure for other OECD countries will be a mere two-and-a-half per cent.

What is more, invetment in the United States by West Germany and other European countries not only helps to offset the US trade deficit (last year $27,000m), it has also created one-and-a-half million additional jobs.

Reinhardt Hassenstein
(Kieler Nachrichten, 12 July 1978)

East bloc barter deals give Bonn headache

Long-term barter deals have assumed troublesome proportions in trade between Bonn and the Eat bloc since the mid-70s, says Martin Grüner, Free Democratic parliamentary state secretary to the Economic Affairs Ministry.

Replying to a question from the Christian Democratic Bundestag Opposition, he said precise details of the extent of East-West barter trade were not available.

Western estimates, including smaller barter deals not included by the East bloc in the long-term category, assume that barter arrangements accounted for about five per cent of East bloc exports in 1975.

Between 1975 and 1980 the figure is expected to average ten per cent, while specialists in trade between Bonn and the East bloc expect barter arrangements to be up to 15 per cent of the total.

One reason for the increase is that the East bloc countries are keen to balance payments more satisfactorily by boosting exports.

"Lacking adequately developed sales channels and competitive products of their own, and in view of the economic weakness of Western markets, the East bloc countries expect barter arrangements to open up additional export opportunities," Herr Grüner told the Bundestag.

The Soviet Union has for years had a policy of importing equipment to exploit its rich reserves of raw materials, trying wherever possible to pay in commodities.

In practice, West German exporters are expected by all East bloc countries to agree to barter terms, The Soviet Union and Poland, with Poland a poor second, are the countries that conclude most "you supply the machinery and I pay in goods produced with the aid of your equipment" deals.

Ninety per cent of them are negotiated by Russia and Poland, which between them have the largest natural resources awaiting development.

Barter is particularly important in markets in which Western competition for East bloc custom is toughest (such as capital goods), or in markets such as consumer goods where the East bloc can dispense with imports if necessary.

In large long-term barter deals with the Soviet Union the goods supplied by Bonn consist of 60 per cent pipeline and 40 per cent chemical plant.

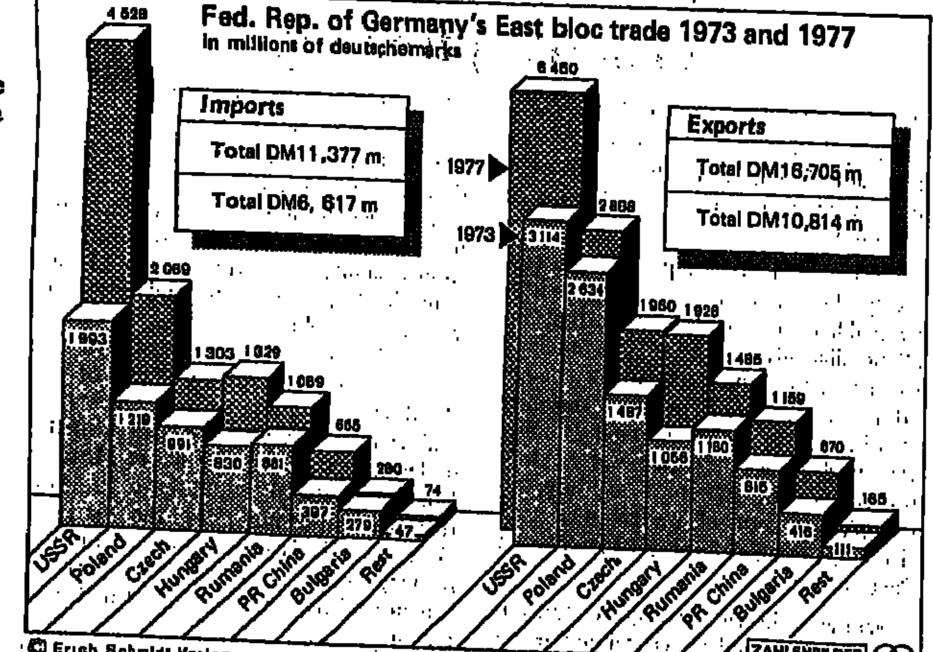
In return the Soviet Union is supplying 67 per cent natural gas, 15 per cent chemicals and eight per cent wood.

Bonn rates business on these terms a problem when it is elevated to the status of a principle, or when the German exporter is offered goods he is unable to sell because of quality or quantity.

So far exporters in the Federal Republic have not lost in barter terms, Bonn feels, but a close watch on developments in chemicals is to be maintained.

The federal government hopes that East bloc countries will increasingly consider market circumstances in assessing both the size of projects they hope to finance in this way and the range of goods they propose to offer in payment.

Hans-Jürgen Mahnke
(Die Welt, 11 July 1978)



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■ CONSUMER AFFAIRS

The case for making state monopolies responsible

Although the General Business Conditions Act (AGB) which came into force last year has eliminated many disputes about the small print on contracts, it major failing is that it does not apply to state-run concerns.

The much-praised legislation designed to protect private individuals, has ended arguments about questions such as liability and conditions of payment which previously led to protracted legislation.

But the problem is that in many spheres, the state is a contracting party without competitors and a mayor, for instance, often has no choice but to accept the conditions it imposes. In such cases, the state shows little evidence of the reforming spirit which led to the passing of the AGB.

The state as supplier of electricity, gas and water, as the transporter of men and goods, in many instances does not even observe the age-old civil law principle of "on trust."

The Association of Taxpayers goes so far as to describe the state as a "terror to the consumer." The consumers associations are now demanding that the state be required to comply with the conditions laid down for private contracts.

This has led to feverish activity (or at least the appearance of it) in many official bodies, the results of which have not yet come to light. All the Bonn Ministry of Justice can say is that working parties have been set up to look into the matter and present draft proposals. When the proposals will become law is equally vague. The ministry says it plans to put the law on state liability on to the statute books before the next general election, which means some time between now and the second half of 1980.

Anyone who employs a handyman can be sure of damages if he does a faulty or shoddy job. But in Düsseldorf electricians from the city corporation repained a switchboard in a house and said they had put in a new fuse.

The owner of one of the flats in the house, who was on holiday while the electricians were to work, had a nasty surprise when she got home. Due to what her lawyer has proved to be the negligence of the electricians, her freezer was not connected to the electricity network. Everything in the freezer was rotten and water had run out, ruining carpets in the flat.

The lawyer's attempts to make the Düsseldorf city corporation pay compensation were in vain. City officials coolly referred him to their conditions of business and delivery.

The "General Conditions of Delivery and Supply" throughout the country, say that no liability is accepted for any damage as a result of negligence. Rulings from the highest courts have confirmed this on several occasions. All the lawyer could do was to tell his client that there was no point in pursuing the matter.

Supply companies, thanks to the small print, are everywhere entitled to demand advance payment for gas, water, electricity and heating. This means, as an indignant consumer wrote to the Rhine Westphalia Electricity Works (RWE), that the consumer gives the company "interest free credit" by having to pay for the goods well before receiving them.

Those who own land are generally masters within their domain. But this is not so when an electricity department wants to widen its network. Regulation III, subsection 3 of the General Conditions for the Supply of Electricity from the Network of Electricity Supply Companies says: "The consumer is obliged, insofar as he is the owner of the property concerned, to facilitate the carying out of electrical work on his property and the laying of pipes and other necessities for the public supply of electricity."

In other words, the citizen-consumer can do nothing about it if the electricity department wants put a huge pylon in his back garden — even if the pylon blocks his view or he loses his orchard. He has no right to compensation.

In private law it is normal for someone who receives a bill he considers too high to await clarification before paying. Woe betide the customer who does not this when the bill comes from a state institution. An old-age pensioner from Cologne was particularly lucky here. She received a telephone bill from the Bundespost for DM228,000 and, according to the regulations, was obliged to pay first and complain later. As there had obviously been a mistake the Bundespost made an exception and did not insist on payment first.

This is not the case when the ordinary telephone subscriber reckons that he has been overcharged. He has no right to withhold payment on the assumption that the bill is incorrect.

If a telegram messenger fails to deliver an important telegram, the Post Office does not have to pay a penny compensation. This is made abundantly clear in paragraph 21 of the regulations: "The Bundespost accepts no liability for damages of any description, in particular for those arising from exclusion from the use of telegraph facilities, from the stoppage of the telegram service, through disorders, omissions, delay or other errors in the acceptance, transmission and delivery of telegrams, through the passing on of incorrect information, negligence in acceptance or in the delivery of telegrams via telephone or telex systems."

Even in the case of gross negligence by Post Office employees — if a sum of money is transferred late, for instance — the Bundespost accepts no liability. The customer has to pay interest on bills paid late.

It is only rarely possible to get money out of the Bundespost — if registered goods are damaged or lost in the post. The liability limit for registered letters is DM40 and for registered parcels DM500.

The Bundesbahn operates with limited liability as far as the loss, damage or late delivery of luggage is concerned. But at least the 84th amendment to the Railway Traffic Regulations brought about an increase in the maximum rates of compensation after there had been massive public criticism. The Bundesbahn will pay up to DM1500 for an intem of lost luggage even if it is not responsible for the loss.

As for the Bundespost, we will have to wait for the new law. We will also have to wait for new conditions for the supply of electricity, gas and water and for ordinances in which local council agree to pay compensation for damage arising from sewage disposal.

The Bonn Ministry of Justice says that drafts for revised statutes have been looked at and that new regulations on supply conditions are also under examination. It was unable to say when they would come into force. Until then, the state remains a terror to consumers.

Eberhard Krummheuer
(Handelsblatt, 5 July 1978)

COL sinks to under 2 per cent

The rate of increase in consumer prices in West Germany, falling from 8 per cent in the middle of 1973, has sunk to just under 2 per cent, certainly a success for the country's stability policies.

The Federal Republic, along with Switzerland, now has one of the lowest inflation rates in the world.

For consumers for whom food is an above-average item of expenditure, the increase rate has been reduced further than for other private households. In June, for instance, the cost of living for a two-person household of pensioners or recipients of social security increased by only 1.8 per cent. For the basic requirements of a child the increase against last year was only 0.6 per cent.

Special factors such as drastic seasonal price reductions for certain foodstuffs obviously play a part here, but there is an unmistakable overall improvement. This means wages and salaries have more real purchasing power, even though the increases this year were somewhat lower.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 11 July 1978)

Monthly DM2,500 to spend for wage-earners now

Federal Statistics Office figures for 1977 show that wage-earners' families have on average DM2,500 a month to spend while the families of civil servants and white-collar workers on higher incomes have an average disposable monthly income of DM4,200.

The average gross salary of breadwinners in a family of four last year was DM2,624. Of this DM278 (or 11 per cent) came from one-off payments such as Christmas or holiday bonuses and overtime pay, and DM29 came from savings payments by employers.

The gross earnings of the bread-winner constituted 86 per cent of annual income, on average DM3,067. Of this DM736 (24 per cent) was deducted for income tax and social security payments, leaving a net income of DM2,331. Then came other sources of income amounting to DM128 (from selling used cars, for instance). The average disposable (85 per cent), monthly income was DM2,459. Of this DM2,083 went on private consumption, DM136 (6 per cent) was spent for other purposes. DM 240 or 9.8 per cent of disposable income was saved.

The gross income of civil servants and white-collar workers with higher incomes was on average DM4,944 per month. Here DM425 consisted of the Christmas bonus, 13th month salary and annual bonuses. In families of four DM849 of gross income went on tax and DM233 on social security controbutions, leaving a net income of DM3,872. With income from other sources included, monthly disposable income came to just under DM4,198.

Of this DM3,288 (72 per cent) went on private consumption and DM344 on other expenditure (health insurance and extra insurance payments into the pensions insurance scheme) DM565 or 13.5 per cent was saved.

The incomes of pensioners and those on social security came to DM1084 per month, equivalent to a net income as there is no income tax or social security to be paid. Added was extra income of DM9 per month, which meant pensioners had an average disposable income of DM1,093. Just under DM927 (about 85 per cent) was spent on items such as rent and food and DM53 for purposes such as road tax and premiums for private insurances, DM113 per month was saved.

There was a notable shift in favour of more saving by pensioners, While consumer spending dropped in relation to 1976 from 87 to 85 per cent of disposable income savings rose from 8.5 to 10.4 per cent. The savings rate of pensioners rose by 3.3 per cent over 1975, while the savings of families with middle incomes dropped by 3.4 per cent and of families with higher incomes by 3.4 per cent.

(Handelsblatt, 5 July 1978)

■ ENERGY

Power plant alarms arm anti-atom campaigners

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

Three times in ten days nuclear alarms from Brunsbüttel, Biblis and Krümmel power stations have followed accidents in which radioactivity leaked.

Human error was partly to blame. In one instance a shift foreman underestimated the extent of damage but safety precautions eventually proved adequate. But will they always be?

It has been potent ammunition for opponents of nuclear power. One reason why the public felt so uneasy was that official reports were slow in coming and incomplete when they arrived.

Nuclear power remains controversial even though there are fewer demonstrations than a few months ago. The debate has become more objective and level-headed, say nuclear physicists and technicians.

Last year all three major parties, the Social and Free Democrats, who share power in Bonn, and the Opposition Christian Democrats, endorsed nuclear power, although some had reservations.

This united front is beginning to look a little shaky. Ecologists and anti-nuclear campaigners have fared so well in recent local elections that nuclear power clearly remains a controversial issue.

Power needs are evidently a major consideration. If the electric power companies are over-producing anyway, there is no need to build new nuclear power stations. Time can then be taken to research and develop new varieties, such as the fast breeder reactor.

Power stations concede there is a capacity surplus. Roughly 58,600 of a total installed capacity of 65,000 megawatts are currently available. In 1976 consumption totalled 51,000 megawatts, leaving a reserve of 7,800 megawatts.

In other words, 13.4 per cent of output was surplus. But the power companies insist on keeping an 18 to 20 per cent reserve in hand. Otherwise, they claim, there might be blackouts in an emergency.

But this reserve is based on past experience. Does it still apply in the wake of the energy shock? Energy output and consumption cannot, however, be seen only in a national context.

Energy requirements are on the increase at a worldwide rate of more than two per cent.

One country cannot disregard the rest. Oil is growing scarcer and more expensive. The only alternatives are coal, economy — and nuclear power.

Neighbouring European countries are determined to retain the nuclear option. Power reactor capacity is being increased in France, with Spain and Italy following.

Britain, too, is building new nuclear power stations, while even cautious Sweden seems to be heading towards lifting some of the restrictions imposed in the past.

Western Europe currently boasts 60-odd nuclear power stations with an overall capacity of roughly 25,000 megawatts. According to conservative estimates, nuclear power capacity will amount to between 80,000 and 90,000 megawatts by the mid-80s.

By the turn of the century nuclear power could well account for between 250,000 and 300,000 megawatts of installed capacity. Solar energy cannot meet more than a fraction of Western Europe's requirements.

So it looks as though there is no alternative to further development of nuclear power. Professor Karl Heinz Beckurts, board chairman of Jülich nuclear research centre, is convinced of this.

Jülich has a yearly research budget of DM280m, three-quarters of which goes toward nuclear research. But other options are not disregarded.

Professor Beckurts is persuaded nonetheless that nuclear power will remain indispensable — and not only for electricity.

High-temperature reactors generate enormous amounts of process heat that could, for instance, be used to convert coal into gas, less of an environmental hazard.

Research scientists at Jülich have been working on the high-temperature reactor for years. They have yet to perfect their design, but not because of difficulties; they are still carrying out protracted trials.

Indications are that a combination of nuclear power and coal would prove a sensible solution. One country on its own could hardly afford to risk zero growth in energy supplies.

The reactor manufacturers' interests merit a mention. Over the past 21 years the Bonn government alone has invested more than DM16,000m in nuclear research and development.

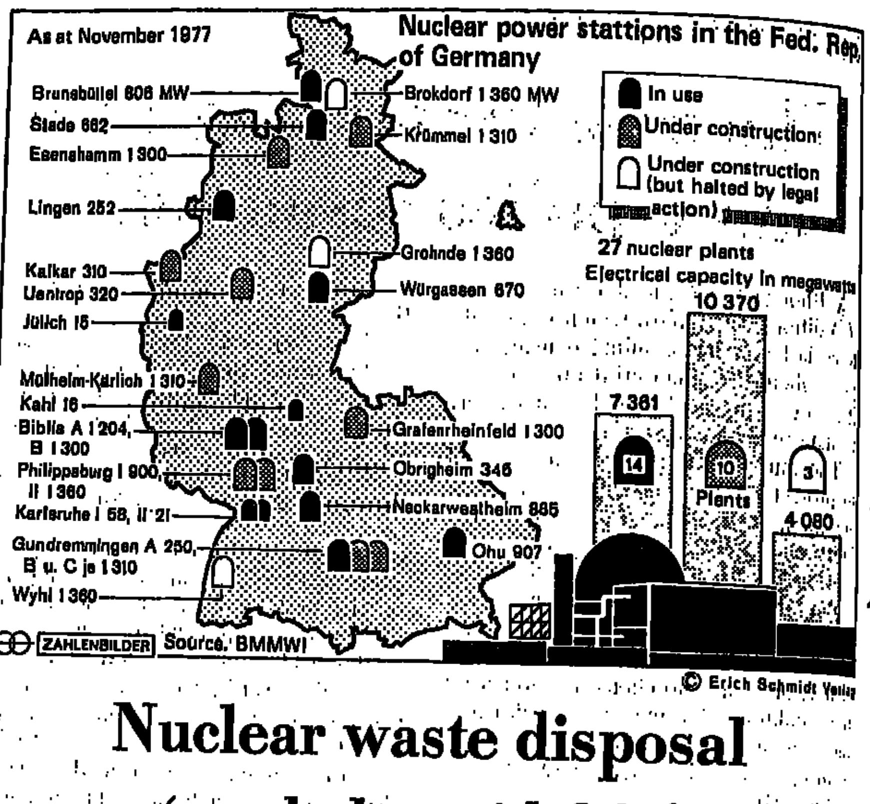
Foreign customers and potential clients seem as interested as ever in ordering nuclear pwer stations from manufacturers in this country.

Were Bonn to impose an embargo the economic repercussions would be serious, and costly nuclear research and development would have been pointless.

Comprehensive and slanderous mudslinging is not conducive to objectively considering the case for nuclear power.

The fundamental problem is that ar-

Continued on page 9



Nuclear waste disposal 'ready by mid-90s'

Bonn should be able to dispose of its radioactive waste from nuclear power stations by the mid-90s, says Günther Scheuten, board chairman of a company set up by the country's 12 power utilities to process nuclear fuel.

Government plans envisage integrated nuclear waste disposal, with spent fuel rods reprocessed, recycled fuel processed and radioactive waste stored safely for all time in one place.

One advantage of handling all aspects of nuclear waste disposal in one centre is that plutonium will not need to travel around the country.

On 22 February 1977 the Land government of Lower Saxony announced, subject to final approval, that a site near Gorleben and the Elbe border between the Federal Republic and the GDR had been chosen to house nuclear waste disposal and processing plant.

Gorleben sits on extensive salt deposits that will be excavated to provide a subterranean resting-place for drums of radioactive waste.

Integrated nuclear waste processing and disposal will entail responsibilities shared by the state and private enterprise.

Herr Scheuten's company is responsible for fuel rod storage, reprocessing and waste disposal. Alkem GmbH and Reaktor-Brennelement Union GmbH, both of Hanau, near Frankfurt, are responsible for the manufacture of fuel rods containing a mixture of plutonium and uranium.

Finding a grave for radioactive waste, on the other hand, is the responsibility of the federal government.

Herr Scheuten hopes to start building the initial storage basin in 1980, but to do so test drilling of the Gorleben salt deposits must start by the end of this year at the latest.

The Lower Saxon Land government in Hanover has yet to give permission for drilling.

The initial storage basin, with a capacity of 1,500 tons, will take four years to build and should be ready by 1985, or 1986 at the latest.

It is a top-priority project, since nuclear power stations, as the law stands, will only be able to operate at the capacity envisaged once storage facilities for spent fuel rods are available.

Provided construction goes ahead as planned there will be no disposal delays, says Herr Scheuten.

Last spring his company signed a DM2,500m, five-year contract with Cogéma of France to process 1,705 tons of nuclear fuel from the Federal Republic between 1980 and 1984.

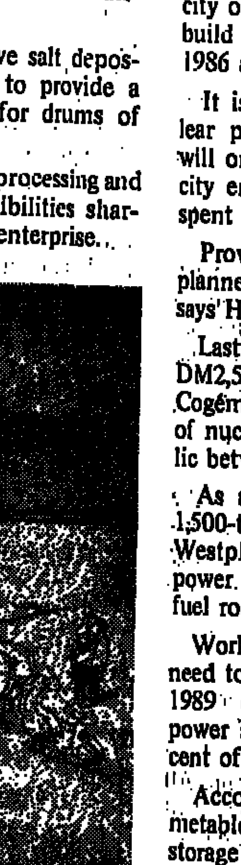
As a buffer storage facility a further 1,500-ton basin is to be built in Ahaus, Westphalia. A 1,000-megawatt nuclear power station produces 35 tons of spent fuel rods a year.

Work on the reprocessing plant would need to start in 1982 for inauguration in 1989 or 1990. Reprocessing enables power stations to recycle roughly 95 per cent of the uranium they use.

According to Günther Scheuten's timetable, the federal government's final storage centre would need to open by 1992 or 1993, but not until 1995 for highly radioactive waste.

The Federal government agency in Brunswick responsible will rely on a private consortium headed by the Salzgitter iron and steel conglomerate.

Heinz Heck
(Die Welt, 5 July 1978)



(Cartoon: Walter Hanel/Die Zeit)

■ ISSUES

Bonn allays fears over tests of the 'dentists' rocket'



Helmut Schmidt recently had to reassure President Kaunda in Lusaka that missiles launched from a proving ground in Zaire's Shaba province by a Frankfurt company are a private-enterprise venture without strategic significance.

Rumours of a German missile base are wildly exaggerated. Last month's launch at Kapani Tono in northern Shaba is claimed to have been the third, but it was the first to which independent witnesses can testify.

First there was a rumble, then billows of smoke, then an almighty bang. The rocket took off unsteadily from its pad, rose skyward a little, then nosed down again, crash-landing in the bush with more noise and smoke.

That was it, the first proven launching of a cut-price rocket which, its backers hope, will start a private-enterprise renaissance of German missile manufacturing in Zaire's crisis-torn Shaba province.

The rocket's backers are a consortium of brave self-taught ballistics experts and equally brave high-income taxpayers keen to avoid punitive direct taxation at the upper end of the sliding tax scale.

The rocket is the brainchild of Stuttgart engineer Lutz Kayser. The project sounds disarmingly simple and unusually promising as described in his glossy prospectus.

The prospectus, issued by Kayser's Orbital Transport- und Raketen-AG (OTRAG), is sent to prospective investors in a tax write-off company which, he says, will sooner or later prove commercially lucrative in its own right.

Dispensing with technological sophistication, Kayser plans to manufacture a utility rocket for the Third World that will undercut America's Nasa by more than half.

The design is appealingly simple. Several dozen conventional jet engines are arranged in series like a bunch of asparagus to launch a ten-ton payload into an orbit 200 kilometres (125 miles) up.

The fuel will be a straightforward mixture of petrol and nitric acid. With few exceptions, parts are readily available, consisting of garden hosepipes, windscreen wiper motors and torch batteries and the like.

Potential customers include more or less wealthy medium-sized powers in the southern hemisphere, such as Brazil, India, Indonesia, Zaire and others.

The Kayser rocket, or so its inventor claims, will enable them to launch meteorological satellites of their own and station communications satellites in outer space.

There is no intrinsic guarantee that the rocket will be used solely for peaceful purposes, always assuming it ever flies. It could equally well carry a nuclear warhead from one corner of the globe to the other.

Small wonder that critics, especially in Africa, Eastern Europe and on the left wing of the Bonn coalition parties, are alarmed.

First *Afrique, Asie*, published in Paris, then *Penthouse* in the United States raised the spectre of a Zairean nuclear attack on Angola backed by German scientists.

The plain wooden huts at Kapani Tono have since been a major political issue. Radio Moscow calls OTRAG an "imperialist agency of the Bonn government that threatens world peace."

The terms of the rental agreement between Lutz Kayser and President Mobutu have also proved irksome. On 26 March 1976 the Zairean leader signed away exclusive rights to use a virtually uninhabited area of more than 100,000 square kilometres (40,000 square miles).

In return for exclusive use of this territory around the Luvua river in north-east Shaba Kayser was to pay DM65m a year in rent as soon as the rocket was fully developed and in manufacture.

Kenya's *Daily Nation* is overstating the case in fearing a "sellout of African sovereignty." OTRAG is entitled to use the territory but does not enjoy sovereignty over it.

There has been excited talk of neo-colonialism, but this too is exaggerated, since OTRAG does not usually have more than 10 technicians and a cook stationed in an area half the size of West Germany.

There are technical reasons for choosing such an out-of-the-way location for the launching area. Near the equator rockets need less thrust to escape the earth's gravitational field and put their payloads into orbit.

More power would be needed to launch a comparable payload from a pad in Europe. So the choice of location is aimed at cutting costs.

To stave off criticism, Bonn has ruled that the export of OTRAG rocket parts is conditional on the granting of government permits.

These have so far been granted without exception, with the result that the "German Kayser" (*Le Monde*) continues to embarrass Bonn.

Britain and America have begun to wonder whether Bonn's intelligence services, the *Bundesnachrichtendienst* (BND), based in Munich, and its counter-espionage cousin the *Militärischer Abschirmdienst* (MAD), might not have a finger in the pie.

In Nigeria and Zambia Helmut Schmidt was given a critical reception by the press because of the rocket affair. "I could wring his (Kayser's) neck," the Chancellor fumed.

Chancellor Schmidt warned President Mobutu in Bonn to keep a close eye on Lutz Kayser, but he wasted his time.



Lutz Kayser, designer of the OTRAG rocket: more a tax shelter than a missile? (Photo: dpa)

Mobutu cannot wait for Kayser to transform his bankrupt, crisis-torn country into a missile-owner.

So OTRAG will surely continue to spell trouble. Lutz Kayser and his rocket are already part of the stock-in-trade of Eastern European and left-wing African propagandists.

A gift horse they are, too. A chain of association leading from rockets to war, death and enemies comes to mind more or less automatically.

Yet surveys so far indicate that the project is probably no more than a gigantic bluff. Giessen missile specialist Horst Löb will still wager "a brewery to a glass of stale beer" that the Kayser rocket will never really fly.

The project was costed by the Bonn government in 1975 and ruled a complete no-hoper, according to Finance Minister Hans Matthöfer, Minister of Research and Technology at the time.

OTRAG have yet to produce evidence to disprove the conclusion of government accountants three years ago. The prevailing view in Bonn is that the "dentists' rocket," as it has been dubbed, is a case for the inland revenue's fraud squad rather than for the diplomatic corps.

Yet Helmut Schmidt would prefer the entire operation to move, say, to Liechtenstein, the tax haven principality bordering on Switzerland and Austria.

But Lutz Kayser has somewhere else in mind. Hoping that the French will not be so readily upset by Moscow and its African allies, he has set up an OTRAG France in Paris.

Ernst Kaufmann
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 12 July 1978)

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gument is conducted on two levels at which contemporary views on progress and the development of society inevitably clash.

The experts are preparing for a week-long conference at which notes will be compared. Professor Beckurts, as president of the European Nuclear Association, has convened a nuclear conference in Hamburg from 6 to 11 May 1979.

Some 3,000 scientists from all over the world are expected to voice their views on likely developments and the future of atomic energy.

Wolfgang Rieger
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 9 July 1978)

■ BOOKS

Historians scuffle over how to read Nazi past

Feelings ran high at a two-day conference of historians and writers on the subject of Hitler as historical figure, with English historian David Irving in the forefront of the controversy.

During the discussion in Aschaffenburg Town Hall on Hitler's rise to power, the English historian David Irving, not for the first time in his career, provoked a violent argument.

He claimed that the 1938 elections, in which 49 million Germans voted for Hitler, were "free elections." When other historians objected, he asked them if they had documentary evidence of electoral manipulations.

Iring Fetscher, professor of political science at Frankfurt University, shouted that this was an insult to his father, who had been shot by the Nazis, and he was not prepared to tolerate it. What Irving had said was complete and utter nonsense and pure provocation.

Irving caused a sensation recently when he claimed in his book *Hitler's War* that Hitler knew nothing of the mass murder of European Jews. He said that there was no document which conclusively proved a connection between the Führer and the "Final Solution."

Irving had obviously been invited to Aschaffenburg to provoke the German historians. He always works according to the same basic pattern: he casts doubt upon the obvious by insisting on seeing documents which could not possibly exist.

The hard-working Irving accused German historians of being too lazy to go hunting for "primary sources." They far preferred "to make the 21st book out of 20 books of memoirs", thereby "perpetuating legends." He did not specify which legends.

A few "primary sources," that is, leading figures from the Third Reich, attended the discussions in Aschaffenburg. At the last meeting of the conference, about Syberberg's film *Hitler — A film from Germany*, Irving called upon "the gentleman in the fourth row" to testify that Hitler's masseur, Kersten, who appears in the film, was an unreliable source.

The gentleman said that he could say nothing. Now that the time was ripe, he was working on his memoirs and he did not want to give anything away. The memoir writer was Karl Wolff, former SS-Obergruppenführer and a close associate of Heinrich Himmler.

Syberberg, who is on the worst possible terms with German film critics, showed his film in Aschaffenburg for the first time in Germany. This meant hard work, not only for the spectators who had to sit through seven hours of film split into four parts, but also for the police. There had been a bomb threat against Syberberg and the people of Aschaffenburg were amazed and far from pleased to find a huge police contingent in their town.

The only person who seemed to be happy about this was a Czech television reporter. He told his cameraman to get as many shots of the police as he could and then he explained why: this proved that conferences to revalue National Socialism took place under massive police protection.

Those present at the discussion had an interesting lesson in how difficult it is, even 33 years after the end of National Socialism, to understand the "entire phenomenon" of Hitler.

The difficulties start with the question whether there is any real value in concentrating on Hitler as a person. Should not the emphasis rather be on the social and economic factors which made possible Hitler's rise to power?

In the case of those who concentrate too heavily on Hitler and his career, the social conditions which made his rise possible play only a subordinate role.

Some Hitler specialists get up to strange things. This was the case in the lecture by famous Hitler investigator Werner Maser, whose talk was called "Adolf Hitler, father of a son." He put forward the theory that Hitler fathered an illegitimate child while a soldier in France. His son, according to Maser, is Jean Marie Lobjoie, born in 1918. The story was headline news in the international press earlier this year.

Historians such as Eberhard Jakkel of Stuttgart are not convinced by Maser's evidence. Whether Corporal Hitler was a father or not is beside the point. Far more important is the question Bonn historian Albrecht Tyrell asked Maser: "What is historically relevant about this fact? What are you trying to prove?"

Maser's answer was pure theatre of the absurd. After giving a long talk on Hitler's son he conceded that the whole matter was "of little importance" and "irrelevant."

One of the dangers of historical research is that facts are often dug up for the sake of publicity, a danger greater than usual in the case of those who do research on Hitler. The problem is that certain historians identify more and more with their leading character.

This is particularly dangerous in the case of Hitler, "the anti-hero." It is impossible to write about anyone without a certain amount of empathy, yet this empathy can lead to the writer getting to like even an anti-hero like Hitler. David Irving wrote in his latest book *War Path*: "Hitler may have been a gangster, but he was a gangster with style."

Could there ever be another Hitler? Thes was the main topic on the second day of at the conference, along with an analysis of the current "Hitler wave." The

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Scholar alleges 'anti-history conspiracy'

The theme of the recent conference of historians at the Protestant Academy of Tutzing on the Starnberger Lake was "Look back into the future," which could almost have been the title of a Däniken book.

The meeting discussed the serious (if by no means new) question of the meaning of history, and of German history in particular, its continuity and its function in social consciousness.

Professor Alfred Grosser, French winner of the German Book Trade Peace Prize, a scholar with a better understanding than most foreigners of German history and developments in the Federal Republic and someone always ready to defend this country against unjustified criticisms, was celebrated in Tutzing as a kind of institution. His words were greeted as revelation but Grosser soon made it clear that no-one could expect flattery from him.

In his view there is in the Federal Republic of Germany a "conspiracy against history" which comes from two directions: sociology and school curricula. The result is a "historical rootlessness", an "abstinence from political thinking" unparalleled in Europe.

Grosser said there was continuity in the phenomenon of terrorism. He traced a direct line from the murderers of politicians Rathenau and Erzberger by right-wing extremists during the Weimar Republic to the murder of State Prosecutor Buback by left-wing extremists.

Then there was an at least equally questionable continuity of German self-satisfaction and stress on security and on "being good" in which any criticism of the prevailing order was immediately regarded as an attack on the free and democratic basic order. The Federal Republic of Germany was not, in foreign eyes, a state just like any other, he said. The element of uncertainty within it had remained constant "in a truly uncanny way."

Grosser's critical remarks ended with the argument that "we will only convince young people of the importance of history when we make it clear that the present can only be explained by the past."

Thomas Nipperdey, professor of modern history at Munich University, was an eloquent advocate of the view that history makes us aware of the possibility of change. History, he argued, was useful because it cleared up legends and provided us with criteria for action in the present: "History helps us to come to terms with the future."

Nipperdey also stressed that the study of history should not be motivated simply by utilitarian thinking. He spoke of the "unavailability" of the future and of the need to resist the promises of those who claimed they alone had the key to it.

He attached particular importance to conservative thinking in this context. "The study of history makes us aware of our heritage. Only he who respects the need to conserve and the tendency towards stability can bring about change."

Although there were clear differences between the historians at the conference, they did not appear in discussion, for which there was plenty of opportunity. Each lecture was an isolated unit and the connections between the contributions was not made.

Christian Graf von Krokow from Göttingen gave the last talk, on "Consciousness of Tradition and Perspectives for Reform," a firm plea for the spirit of reform.

He severely criticised the hostility to reform in large sections of West German society and quoted from conservative philosophers such as Edmund Burke ("a state without the capacity for change can give up hope") and Alexis de Tocqueville ("if we want to preserve everything we will lose everything").

"We lack the traditions which could help us through crises and conflicts," Krokow said.

Wolf Scheller

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 7 July 1978)

Josef Rovan's keen look at Germany

DIE ZEIT

Josef Rovan has written a slim but important volume on Germany entitled *L'Allemagne n'est pas ce que vous croyez* (Germany is not what you think) published by Editions du Seuil, Paris.

Rovan was born in Germany in 1918 and now teaches German at the University of Paris-Vincennes. The title of his book reminds us of the aggressiveness of the recent three-part film on French history, *Frenchmen, if you only knew*.

When we find out that Rovan had no choice but to leave his home town of Munich in his early years and when we recall that he was a Resistance fighter who was deported to Dachau, then we have every reason to study his picture of the Federal Republic of Germany very carefully. He also describes the image of Germany common to certain French intellectuals. A noble spirit through and through, Rovan does not say this image is stupid: he says it is false.

The Franco-German treaty of friendship which De Gaulle and Adenauer signed in 1963 is 15 years old this year, something both sides should be pleased about. This is not only our opinion, it is also Rovan's: "France is Germany's and Germany is France's main trading partner" are the opening words of his passionate defence of Franco-German partnership.

"The two governments do not take action in the international and sometimes in the national sphere without consulting one another. It is equally true that our neighbour Germany confuses and worries many Frenchmen, so that a large section of public opinion has the impression that it is the democrats who pose a threat to democracy and the terrorists who defend it."

This is the starting point for a series of reflections which conclude with the view that: "By attacking German democracy, they are at the same time aiming at French democracy."

Reading this book is an intellectual pleasure although this certainly was the least of the author's ambitions. He does not formulate for the sake of formulation. But he does succumb to an obsession for describing everything precisely and exactly: "Let us imagine France with the borders of 1870. Without Lorraine without Alsace, without Franche-Comté without the Dauphiné, without Savoy, without Provence."

What is the man getting at? Rovan says quite cold-bloodedly that this is the situation of the Federal Republic of Germany today. Can the Germans accept this situation? They have already resigned themselves to it.

It is not the intention here to summarise the arguments it takes Rovan over a hundred pages to expound. One argument he uses will show how clearly and impartially he sees matters. He points out that German regulations give foreign workers greater protection than French regulations give their counterparts, but that the French allow their foreign workers to lead a pleasanter life according to unwritten laws.

Rovan deals systematically with all the questions, suspicions and reproaches against the Federal Republic in French

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■ PERFORMING ARTS

New King Lear opera has virtues of tradition

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

The Munich opera festival opened with the world premiere of Aribert Reimann's *King Lear*, directed by Jean Pierre Ponnelle and conducted by Gerd Albrecht, at the National Theatre.

The conservative Munich opera-going public were not at all pleased that opera director August Everding chose to start the festival with a completely unknown work. New works seem to be regarded as the quintessence of non-culture in these circles, and conductor Gerd Albrecht did not help by saying he had felt physically ill at Reimann's music.

After the performance all was forgotten and forgiven: the applause was thunderous, despite the fact that the audience had been served something new. Yet, when one listens more carefully, one realises that it is not so new at all. It is an opera which contains many of the elements which constitute the excellence of this genre; to put it prosaically, human passions retold and commented on in a thrilling and moving fashion.

Verdi, Puccini and Berg, using different techniques — have all achieved this. There is a long and honourable tradition of opera versions of Shakespeare's works, which do not seem to suffer unduly from the librettist's axe, especially when it is wielded as skilfully as Claus H. Hennenberg does in this case.

Reimann does not demand radical rethinking. As far as he is concerned, theatre is what it always was. He is not concerned with calling traditional methods in doubt, with reflecting on a new aesthetic or with formal processes of investigation. He leaves the delights and the risks of such preoccupations to others.

I do not mean to run the composer down, but this version of Lear could have been written 50 years ago. Reimann's opera is basically a traditional work, hence the applause.

The remarkable thing about it is the music — Reimann's power as a composer to find an acoustic language for the dramaturgy, a musical language whose intensity it is impossible to escape. He uses sound surfaces of great subtlety, music of variegated brilliance which never lapses into the luxurious. He changes the voices so that character emerges, builds diffuse spaces which are constantly shot through with quarter and half tone dissonances.

The result is exciting turbulence, high points, noise (the deliberate brutality of which has nothing violent about it, but consists of the multiplicity of lyrical basic components, an original technique which achieves effects we follow attentively and eagerly).

A traditonal approach alone is no guarantee of success. The Munich premiere works because of the commitment and intensity of performance. Starting with Gerd Albrecht, who, with considerable psychological skill, keeps the orchestra going and brings out a performance which greatly helps underline the merits of the works.

Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau as Lear captured the infantile madness, the memory of past power and wisdom. His three daughters, Helga Dernesch and Colette Lorand as the rapacious Goneril and Regan and Julia Varady as the innocent and pure Cornelia, were utterly convincing throughout.

Hans Wilbrink, Georg Paskuda and Karl Helm played the courtiers, brilliant but shallow, and Hans Günter Nöcker as Gloncester conveyed that character's intense suffering. David Knutson was a delicate tenor as Edgar, Werner Götz captured Edmund's brutality and Richard Holm as Kent made excellent use of humorous mime.

Ponnelle's direction made the intention of the play clear, although it remains a mystery why he allowed Ralf Boysen as the clown to be so heavily made-up that his force as an actor failed to come across.

Ponnelle produced a fascinating stage design for this tragedy. The top was open so that one could see the spotlights. The lifting stage was used brilliantly, the wing lifts moving up and down with no-one on them symbolised storm and impending doom.

He brought elements of kinetic art with its objective aggressiveness into the performance, and contrasted archaic figures by Pet Halmen with a heath landscape strewn with rocks and boulders.

The figures of madness grope through dry grass, their gestures are vast, grotesque and operatic as if they simply grasp the terrible truth of Shakespeare's tragedy.

At last a presentable work of 20th century opera has been performed in Munich. This will encourage those involved to persevere with the experiment. Everding has commissioned a new work for 1981 and although the name of the composer is not yet known the quality of the work is: it will have to be on a par with this fine Reimann opera.

Helmut Lesch

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 11 July 1978)



New *King Lear* that pleases the traditionalists: Dietrich Fisher-Dieskau as Lear and Julia Varady as Cornelia in a scene from the world premiere of Aribert Reimann's opera which opened the Munich festival. (Photo: Felicitas Timpe)

Roistering Falstaff steals festival opening night

The 28th Bad Hersfeld festival season opened recently with a production of Shakespeare's Henry IV. Festival patron President Walter Scheel was unable to attend and his place was taken by Schleswig-Holstein Prime Minister and Bundesrat President Stoltenberg.

Henry IV, written between 1596 and 1598, is rarely performed on the German stage, although Max P. Ammann directed a version in Frankfurt in 1972.

Those attending the play were pleased to find a redesigned auditorium in which the seats from the 14th row back rise at a much steeper angle, considerably improving the acoustics in the former cloister.

Henry IV was a challenge to director Fritz Umgelter who since the early 1950s has mainly worked on television films and plays. The adaptation by festival playwright Dieter W. Hüsch concentrated on the play's "pacifistic elements."

The question Umgelter faced was: to what extent can typical television forms of theatre, in which decorative and musically illustrative means play an important part, be used in a space very different from the small television screen?

Scene from the Bad Hersfeld production of Shakespeare's *Henry IV*: Günter Strack's superb Falstaff (extreme right) captured the crowd. (Photo: Arno Bingel)

He solved the problem and, ably supported by stage designer Gralf-Edzard Habben, costumiere Hannelore Nennecke and choreographer Sven Buscha, produced a perfect play.

The musical arabesques, however, had the effect of a rose-coloured veil concealing the hardness and bitterness of the play and blurring the satiric intent to a certain extent.

During the premiere I had the impression for a number of reasons that Umgelter had worked out his concept of the play during rehearsals. One is that Benno Sterzenbach as Henry IV, who attempts to atone for the murder of Richard in a crusade but is too involved in a civil war which threatens his crown, remains a marginal figure.

His son Harry is well played by Sigmar Solbach, who is utterly convincing and likeable. But even Harry cannot compete with the arch-rogue Falstaff, played by Günter Strack. Falstaff moves from moods of roisterous jubilation to deep depression and completely steals the show from the future Henry V with his ideals of justice and fairness.

Plump, agile and round as a barrel, Falstaff has no more has hesitation about robbing the dead than about whoring and boozing. The arrogance of rulers who recruit soldiers as cannon fodder for the King's War and stuff their pockets with the bribes of the poor leaves him unsurprised.

The only actor to come remotely near Falstaff in this production is Karl Walter Diess, who plays Percy.

Diess portrays Percy as tough, a rebel conscious of his nobility and his claims, a lover and an excellent swordsman. All the battle and duel scenes on the bare stage are performed in balletic, pantomimic style.

The brief appearances of Lady Percy, Mistress Quickly and Miss Tearsheet are unmemorable. On the other hand, the performances of Rolf Pulch as Edmund Mortimer, Bernard Röhr as Owen Glendower, Klaus Spürkel as Poins, Horst Bergmann as Bardolph and Joachim Schweighöfer as Pistol were impressive.

The applause at the end was loud. For Günter Strack as Falstaff it was thunderous.

Jutta W. Thomasius

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 6 July 1978)

■ RESEARCH

Nobel Prize-winners let their minds wander at Lindau



The annual meeting of Nobel Prize-winners at Lindau are not what they were in the 1950s after German research had come through a period of enforced isolation. Then there was a free and friendly interchange between local and foreign scientists.

The declared intention of Count Lennart Bernadotte, who initiated the meetings on the island in the Lake Constance, was to do way with prejudice and help German researchers to make international contacts.

Today this contact is perfectly normal and the mediation of Nobel Prize-winners is no longer necessary. Foreign and German scientists and researchers meet at countless congresses to compare notes and discuss developments.

These changes were reflected in this year's 28th annual meeting. Many scientists did not turn up, obviously because the gathering did not promise anything new. After the opening ceremony there were only two rows of Nobel winners sitting at the front of the Lindau town theatre. The back rows were occupied by students and older pupils and the space in between was only filled when the organisers asked the researchers of tomorrow to move down. This scene was, in a way, typical.

Although the scientific programme hardly offers anything new to those actively engaged in research, it continues to exercise a fascination for students and older school children. They listen attentively and without criticism to the scientific explanations, reminiscences and the philosophical reflections of the Nobel Prize-winners.

The thunderous applause was evidence enough that the young audience regarded the talks as the last word in wisdom. Unfortunately there was no critical challenge to the often one-sided speeches, because there was no discussion afterwards. Politeness rather than scientific disputation is the rule.

This did not mean that there was no discussion at all. The organisers did everything to ensure that the audience had a chance to meet and talk to Nobel winners. The first opportunity is in the Lindau sports hall, Thursday afternoons are reserved for discussions between prize-winners and students.

There is also ample opportunity for discussion on the boat ride to the island of Mainau which traditionally ends the meeting. The atmosphere is ideal for unforced, informative conversation.

For many students and pupils this visit to was an unforgettable experience, fulfilling the purpose of what Bavarian Prime Minister Alfons Goppel called a gathering of "the scientific aristocracy" in his opening speech. The organisers should take this change of direction into account, so that this good idea remains alive.

It was almost characteristic of this year's Lindau meeting that many prize-winners moved out of their specialist areas and talked on a wide range of subjects. The reputation of these scientists is such that one is inclined to treat even such digressions with solemn respect.

Professor Nikolaas Tinbergen of Britain was an exception. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for medicine with Konrad Lorenz and Karl von Frisch in 1973 for his contribution to research on animal behaviour which had led to important results in the psychiatry and the study of psychosomatic diseases.

In Lindau Professor Tinbergen spoke of autism, a developmental problem becoming more frequent these days. Tinbergen explained in his lecture that his minute observation of animal behaviour had greatly helped him to observe developmental problems in children accurately and objectively.

More and more specialists are turning their attention to this syndrome, first described in 1943. Yet there is still no theory about the nature of these developmental problems in early childhood. Unlike many other specialists in this area, Professor Tinbergen and his wife believe it will be possible to help these children one day.

According to him, autistic children suffer from an emotional disorder which means they are incapable of making contact and withdraw into their shells. The cause of this excessive withdrawal is believed to be abnormally strong fear.

"Many aspects of the autistic syndrome can be seen as avoidance of the unknown or the result of the conflict between natural childlike curiosity, which is the basis of all learning, and fear," says Tinbergen.

Autistic children, unlike normal children, are not interested in the unknown. These children often develop stereotyped forms of behaviour very similar to the reactions of cornered animals.

Professor Tinbergen said this extreme fear was not caused by genetic defects but by external influences, sometimes organic but mostly psychogenic.

He concludes that autistic children can be helped, brought up in such a way that their emotional balance is restored. If this can be done, it can be seen how much the children have learnt during the long sleepless nights and crouching under the kitchen table. This is a prospect which could give many parents new hope.

The scientific programme at this year's conference was extraordinarily wide-ranging and interesting. Professor Rosaly Yalow of New York gave an account of breakthroughs in the analysis of biological microstructures. Sir Peter Medawar of England talked about the new immunology which could make the transplanting of organs possible and which will assume even greater importance in medicine in the future.

The importance of immunological processes within the body is becoming increasingly evident. The discovery of foreign bodies, the differentiation between self and non-self and anti-bodies play a significant part in diagnosis and therapy. Perhaps the application of these principles will one day replace drugs and medicines in the prevention and treatment of illnesses.

Modern science is especially preoccupied with research on the transmission of information within the organism. Australian physiologist Sir John Eccles in an esoteric-sounding lecture entitled "The plasticity of synapses". discussed the nature of memory, saying that memory could be improved if stimulated.

Experiments have shown that nerve ends and branches swell when they are "pulsed."

Ulf von Euler of Sweden and Sir Bernard Katz of Britain stressed in lectures how much we have yet to learn about human organic information systems. Sir John Eccles and Sir Bernard Katz both quoted the work of German scientists in the field, proving that German neurophysiologists have important contributions to make.

No account of this year's meeting can omit the social commitment of the scientists.

The lecture by Professor Werner Forssmann on the problem of the death sentence was of particular interest. Professor Georg Wald (USA) looked at the chances of survival in the nuclear age, the question of disarmament and the role of the multinational corporation pernicious, in his opinion.

Finally, there was the lecture by Sir Hans Krebs of Britain looking into the biological causes of increasing juvenile delinquency. Krebs believes the reason for the depressing developments of the last 20 years is the excess of freedom which, for various reasons, modern youth enjoys. Spoiling children and letting them do whatever they liked, he argued, was fatal and no substitute for what children really needed love, security, contact, praise, appreciation and an appropriate sense of order and responsibility.

The commitment of the speakers was evident in all of these lectures. Yet at the same time it was clear that the Lindau gathering of Nobel winners could be improved. The rather one-sided and uncritical lectures should not be allowed to pass without discussion. The often highly personal accounts need correction, so that the open-minded listener does not leave with the wrong impression.

Konrad Müller-Christiansen

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 8 July 1978)

Stastistics on abortions

Almost 60 per cent of abortions in West Germany last year were on non-medical grounds, according to figures from the Federal Statistics Office, Wiesbaden. There were 54,300 legal abortions last year and the medical magazine *Selecta* reckons that for every 10,000 births there are 926 abortions.

Since 1976, social grounds have been legally accepted as a reason for abortion. *Selecta* says that this is by far the main reason given for abortions: only 29 per cent of women had abortions for medical reasons. Eight per cent of pregnant women were in a psychological state which justified an abortion.

Four per cent of abortions were for eugenic reasons and one per cent because the women had been raped. Almost two-thirds of women were married and almost half of the women were in the "ideal age for child birth" — between 18 and 30.

Only about five per cent were under the age of 18. The magazine says twice as many women over 40 as very young girls had abortions.

dpa

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 3 July 1978)

Mother's stress 'can harm the unborn child'

It is common knowledge that illness or injury to a mother during pregnancy can affect the unborn child. Now Dr Monika Lukesch, a Constance University psychologist, says her research indicates that stress during pregnancy or subconscious rejection of the child can also have a negative effect.

Frau Lukesch questioned more than 200 pregnant women and their husbands and observed the reactions of their newborn babies. She concentrated on two areas:

1. The mother's attitude to pregnancy, the development of the child, the first contacts between mother and child.

2. The role of pregnancy in the relationship between husband and wife and its affact on the marital situation.

Mothers were asked questions aimed at finding out their subconscious attitudes and interviewed again two days after the birth of their children. Parallel with this, the babies were closely observed for the first five days after birth, with special attention to movement, sleep, eating and weight development.

Dr Lukesch concluded that stress caused by fear or anger, which manifests itself in circulation disorders or hormone inbalance, does not only affect the mother. Stress causes chemical reactions in the body and in a pregnant woman these affect the unborn child.

Babies affected like this were very restless and cried far more than usual, or else they reacted the opposite way, with total apathy. These children show reactions which differ significantly from normal babies.

Subconscious rejection of the child during pregnancy showed itself in the behaviour of the mother after the birth of the child. Either mothers were over-anxious or else, in a few cases, they were aggressive to the child. In all cases the reactions deviated from the norm.

Monika Lukesch argues that regular pre-natal advice could help to alleviate the difficulties of pregnant women. Medical care is taken for granted but not enough attention is paid to psychological care.

She insists that fathers be involved in the psychological care and advice because her analysis has shown that pregnancy is a psychological strain and crucial experience for both man and woman. Rejection and uncertainty on the man's part can affect the mother and in turn the child.

Dr Lukesch is to publish the results of her studies in pre-natal psychology and development in a book written with her husband, Dr Helmut Lukesch, under the title *Psychology and Psychopathology during Pregnancy.*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 8 July 1978)

■ SOCIETY

An academic asks: is there a Lost Generation growing up?

Many young people in the Federal Republic of Germany, like young people everywhere, are profoundly dissatisfied with their society. Here Munich political scientist Kurt Sontheimer examines their arguments.

DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG

The results of a poll published some weeks ago made it abundantly clear that a large number of young people in West Germany are not at all happy with the state of their society.

Asked whether they thought their society was working generally, only 48 per cent of the 18 to 24-year-olds said yes. The attitude is far more positive among the older age groups.

Compared with other age groups, 18 to 24-year-olds have the most reservations about the established political parties and are the most determined opponents of nuclear energy. The willingness to vote for the Green Lists (ecological groups) and thereby to register a protest against the state of our society is greater in this group than in any other.

The younger the voters, the greater their dissatisfaction with the present system.

The generation that is now about 50, many of whom have children in the 18 to 25 age group, find the critical attitude of a large part of the younger generation difficult to understand. They compare the circumstances in which they grew up with those of today's youth and usually decide that things are far easier for young people today, and that they have no reason to criticise or condemn a society that offers them as much freedom and independence, as many of the good things of life and as much affluence as ours.

The problem is that such arguments do not achieve much, even when based on solid data. The fact remains that a remarkably high number of young people believe they are living in a society where all is not well, where the values of human life are disdained — a society in which they do not feel comfortable and with which they cannot identify. Is this a lost generation growing up?

The following statement in an essay on her future by a Frankfurt grammar school girl is typical of the attitude of many: "What can I do in this society and under this regime but escape? I see people drudging away and accepting a terrible routine. As far as possible, I want to avoid this if I possibly can."

The influential psychologist Horst E. Richter, of Giessen, who has a wide readership among young people, once said we were faced with the alternatives of escaping or standing our ground. Of course, Professor Richter argues that we should stand our ground, but is not escape, dropping out and the search for alternative ways of living a typical form of behaviour among the critical young generation.

This new outlook has developed too rapidly since the student protest movement. The target it attacks is the rational, bureaucratic, concrete, highly technological modern competitive society, which in their view does not give people room to breathe and does not allow decent, human lives.

A sixth former from Lower Saxony wrote on the same subject as the girl above: "The choice between one's own career and a decent human form of life within a society becomes an existential question, the feeling of oppression while trying to make this decision leads one to criticism of this society."

This presumably means this young man believes he faces the tormenting choice between a career in this society and a completely different form of life with the inestimable advantage of being a decent human existence.

Among the hundreds of thousands of students in our universities, the majority certainly intend to make a career in our society. These are the well-behaved, the conformists, though today even many of these are confused and uncertain because their job prospects are poor.

Then there are the tens of thousands with no ambition to be integrated into this society, for whom external forms mean as little as inner discipline, and who demonstrate their infinite contempt for competitive capitalist society in word and deed every day.

They are the alienated. They have settled down in their subcultures and the only question they are interested in is how long and how comfortably they can hibernate. This undemanding form of existence has been made possible by the modern social state.

We are now in a peculiar situation where the basic mood of this country's young people, regardless of whether their attitude to society is positive or negative, ranges from resignation to hostility rather than being constructive and forward-looking.

This is the impression one gets these days at university seminars. The majority of students do not regard their courses as a chance to learn, to educate themselves, to widen their horizons, to live with science. No. Most of our students regard their university years as a more or less desolate period of stress which one goes through as a valley of tears and at the end of which there is unlikely to be anything better.

Is it a lost generation. Sometimes it seems it is and it does not make very much difference whether we base this observation on talks with *Spontis* spouting radicalism or hardworking but listless careerists.

What is the cause of this attitude? Where does this disillusionment, this truculent to critical attitude of the young generation, or at least a good part of it, come from?

There are many answers and probably no single one contains the whole truth. The alienation of many young people is certainly not the result of circumstances which are objectively intolerable (that is, material need and unfreedom). Rather it is the result of powerful subjective attitudes and forms of consciousness which do not all stem from life in our social system.

The consciousness of many young people today is dominated by the wish to lead lives in a kind of anarchic freedom, to shape lives according to momentary wishes and needs. If society does not give them the chance to do the job they want, they describe society as an unjust system which prevents people from realising their ambitions.

If politicians do not protect the environment to the extent which they consider necessary, then they describe the political system as inhuman and destructive, and so on.

The conflict between these powerful subjective attitudes and the reality of society can break out at any time. This conflict can be productive but the general tendency is for it to be alienating, disillusioning, depressing.

There is little point in raising the question of guilt here. It does not get us much further. We ought rather to ask how the tension between these forms of consciousness among young people and the constricted social reality in which we live can be reduced.

There are two possible ways: either consciousness conforms more closely to reality or reality conforms more closely to consciousness.

As the young generation (despite its highly developed critical consciousness) has little chance of radically changing this society, and as I consider this society in its present form to be one worth living in, I would plead for a correction of consciousness.

This is a difficult process. It requires patience and mutual seriousness. One thing must be clear to all of us. We should never write a generation off as lost.

Kurt Sontheimer

(Deutsche Zeitung, 7 July 1978)

History debate

Continued from page 10

Würzburg historian Eberhard Kolb said: "A new Hitler in this country is impossible. Hitler's rise to power was the unique encounter of a man with his time and a particular period in German history."

This did not, however, mean that there was not considerable authoritarian potential in this country. Iring Fetscher warned that the outbursts of hatred aginst terrorists had shown that there was a tendency to call for a "strong man" and tough measures.

There was a lot of talk about the Hitler wave but little of interest said. The main failing of this otherwise interesting conference was that those taking part concentrated too much on their own scholarly publications. They did not stoop to analyse the growing and alarming Nazi sub-culture and political pornography from which certain publishers are doing good business.

Frank J. Heinemann

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 5 July 1978)

Josef Rovan's Germany

Continued from page 10

left-wing and especially in communist circles.

Is there a danger of a relapse into Nazism?

Rovan argues that because the Germans have suffered under Hitler and Nazism they are less likely to tolerate a repetition of the experience than many other countries. (In the 1976 general elections the neo-Nazis did not even get 0.5 per cent of the vote, whereas the neo-Fascists in Italy gained 20 times this amount and the right-wing radicals in France took more than five per cent of the vote in 1965).

What about all the indignation over Kappler not being extradited to Italy but Croissant being extradited to the Federal Republic of Germany?

No civilised country extradites its own citizens. Croissant is a German citizen. In 1960 the De Gaulle government extradited the last two German war criminals in French prisons, Obrecht and Knochen, to Germany, on the advice of Justice Minister Edmond Michelet, who had been a prisoner in Dachau. The Western governments have long been trying to persuade the Soviet Union to release the 80-year-old Rudolf Hess, in prison for 37 years.

What about the feeling of unease many Frenchmen have over Germany's wealth?

Yes, the Germans are rich, but they are very careful about how they use their money. Germany, though rich, is weak: it has no raw materials and its agriculture is incapable of supplying the entire population with food. Radical youth dreams of other countries: "Vietnam, Palestine, Rhodesia and South Africa, with its apartheid policies, nourish the dreams of anger and attract the spirit of adventure."

Not only the French but also the German reader may be surprised to read Rovan's assertion in the fifth chapter that "Germany is revolutionary." Rovan points to the Peasants' Wars of 1525, the bourgeois revolution of 1848, to Marx and he does not limit the National Socialist concept of the National Revolution of 1933.

On the whole, he concludes: "The obedient and submissive Germany, subject to the power established by the grace of God, respectful to all forms of authority, all regulations and all laws — such a monolithic and imbecilic Germany has never existed."

Are the French doubts about the German capacity and will for democracy justified? Here Rovan defends the citizens of the Federal Republic with arguments by which only the malicious can fail to be convinced. He concludes: "The Federal Republic of Germany is one of the protective zones of democracy and freedom — despite the contradictions and imperfections that one finds here as one finds elsewhere. The achievement of the men and women who rebuilt this country during a time of incalculable difficulties is such that I would like to see every discussion about the Federal Republic of Germany prefaced by an apology to that country."

Josef Müller-Marein

(Die Zeit, 7 July 1978)

■ THE LAW

New Divorce Act clauses build up a logjam

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Guilt is no longer a criterion in divorce cases, Stuttgart lawyer Professor Hans G. Krause wrote in an assessment of the new Divorce Act before it came into force a year ago.

"Anyone is now entitled to apply for a divorce, subject only to financial considerations such as maintenance and pension rights," he said.

"Whether or not the other partner has remained faithful is irrelevant. The repercussions are likely for the most part to be at the woman's expense."

Divorce law reformers intended to improve the woman's position in proceedings, but women are undeniably the losers in one respect.

The issue is Para. 1565 II of the civil code, a sub-section of the revised divorce provisions drafted by the Bundestag mediation committee as a concession to the Bonn Opposition.

It stipulates that if a couple have been separated for less than a year a decree can only be granted in exceptional circumstances.

They must be such that "continuation of the marriage would constitute an unreasonable hardship on the applicant for reasons deriving from the person of the husband or wife."

The intention of the provision is to make length of marriage irrelevant. Thirty years of wedlock are in theory to count for no more than 30 days.

Length of separation is the only yardstick. Couples are thus to be stopped from applying for a decree on the spur of the moment. A 12-month separation as the minimum legal requirement should give them time to think it over.

Paragraph 1565 II is also aimed at preventing abuse of the new, easier divorce provisions. During the first year of separation neither party is entitled, as a ground for divorce, to argue that the other is living with someone new and a child is on the way.

This safeguard may be laudable in intention but in practice it is proving one of the major pitfalls of the new Act.

Guilt and blame, which were to be abolished as divorce criteria, reappear through this loophole, providing ample opportunity for bringing out grievances in court.

The 12-month separation clause not only fails to prevent overhasty decisions, it also hampers many divorces that make perfect sense, and frequently, as practice has shown, at the woman's expense.

Cases such as the following have been far from infrequent in defining what constitutes "unreasonable hardship."

A couple still live in their apartment, so they are not separated. They have a daughter. The wife has applied for a divorce before, but withdrew her application.

She claims that her husband continually insults her, gets drunk several times a week, and is having an affair with another woman.

He has behaved like this in the past, she says, with the result that she finds it intolerable to have to keep on living with him.

The divorce court refused her legal aid on the ground that Para. 1565 II did not apply. Divorce courts have almost invariably interpreted the provisions of the clause strictly.

A Bavarian court rejected one woman's application for a decree even *though no-one disputed that her marriage* was on the rocks.

Her husband was an alcoholic, usually drunk all day. Three years before he had started bed-wetting and from spring 1977 it was habitual.

He was also a wife-beater. On one occasion she had left home with the children, to be greeted on their return with: "Come here, you bitch! To heel, you sow!"

Yet the judge ruled, according to the letter of the law, that the situation could not have been intolerable for the woman. She had not seen fit to leave her husband and live apart.

He even refused her legal aid, arguing that divorce proceedings were unlikely to lead to a decree in the circumstances.

A higher court in Munich took a different view, ruling that Para. 1565 II did not constitute a divorce ban. Its judgment was:

"When a husband or wife gradually destroys the marriage by means of protracted, increasingly destructive behaviour conducive to a break-up, the spouse who has tolerated this state of affairs, *in particular for the children's* sake, until he or she is no longer able to do so, be it for physical or mental reasons, cannot be refused a decree in accordance with Para. 1565 II on the ground that he or she ought to have left earlier."

High courts in Stuttgart, Schleswig, Hamburg and Karlsruhe have also ruled in favour of the wife in similar circumstances.

Take, for instance, the small-town teacher whose wife had an affair with an Italian Labourer. The divorce court rejected the husband's divorce aplea because the couple had not been separated for a full year.

Yet his wife was openly committing adultery, and the entire town knew about it. The court of appeal has yet to rule on the case.

Appeal courts are still mulling over what is to be deemed "unreasonable hardship" but Christof Böhmer of the Bonn Justice Ministry expects them to reach a compromise half-way.

What this means, however, is that case law will amend the Act so as to leave intact little or nothing of the original intention.

Pension rights settlements, another key feature of the reform, have yet to enter the controversy. Herr Böhmer says. High courts have still to rule on the finer points of pension rights.

Very few pension rulings have so far come into force, and although the new Divorce Act envisages a simultaneous judgment on divorce, rights to the child or children, maintenance and pension rights, the courts are increasingly ruling separately following applications by lawyers.

Here too, there seems to be a gradual reversion to the old state of affairs. One Stuttgart divorce lawyer claims to have managed a pension rights settlement only once since the new Act came into force on 1 July last year. The circumstances were, for once, favourable. Both parties were employed and willing to forgo their respective rights.

Divorce proceedings have increased in complexity, so that even when the new Act has been in force for a couple of years, Böhmer's "fairly straightforward cases" are unlikely to see a total settlement of rights to children, maintenance and pension in less than six to nine months.

Divorce lawyers complain about the paperwork, saying they feel degraded to the status of penpushers and form-fillers.

Women divorce court judges (and women lawyers) tend to attach more importance to the emancipatory side of the new Act.

The divorce bench is incontestably better informed than most lawyers, who lack the time to go into unfamiliar new provisions.

Older lawyers certainly show scant inclination to readjust to completely changed divorce procedures. Legal practitioners are worried specialists will monopolise proceedings by setting up "divorce factories."

They see divorce specialists practising near the divorce courts from offices with computer links to the Land office of the national insurance scheme, essential if pension rights are to be assessed and suitably allocated.

The drawback of such a development is, of course, that fewer and fewer lawyers would practice in rural areas, so country people would have less access to general legal advice.

A year has elapsed since the new regulations but the backlog of hearings remains enormous. So far only 10 per cent of the usual number of cases have been started and fewer finished.

This makes it difficult to find annual statistics, but a rough guide is provided by figures from a Stuttgart law firm.

Under the old law the practice dealt with roughly 60 divorces a year. In the past year only one case has been settled, and only because the circumstances were particularly favourable.

Divorce enquiries are at about 40 per cent of the old rate.

The right to children is a further obstacle. Contrary to the divorce law reformers' intentions, the courts are tending to rule on the old principle that young children in particular ought to remain in the mother's care.

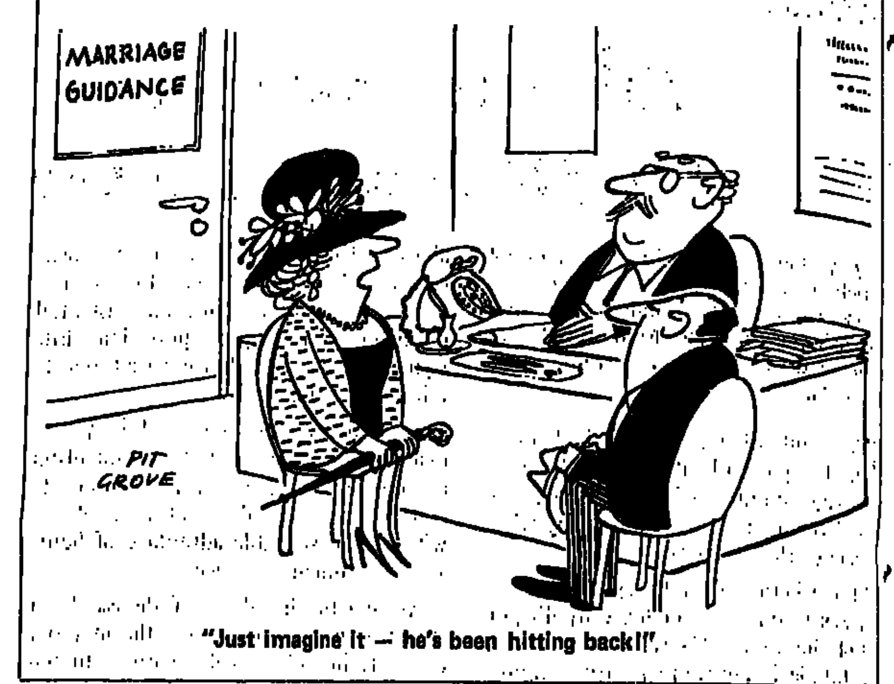
So the war over custody is waged in the psychological theatre. Who is better able to educate them? Mother or father? The result is that the spouse who wants custody tends to blacken the other's reputation (and whitewash his or her own) in court.

One lawyer, after a year's experience of the new Act, says it is merely a case of the old goods being relabelled.

"We may have a new Divorce Act," he says, "but there is an increasing tendency to revert to the old practice, the only difference being that everything has grown much more complicated."

Werner Birkenmaier

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 1 July 1978)

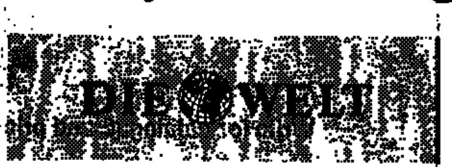


"Just imagine it — he's been hitting back!"

(Cartoon: Pit Grove/Frankfurter Rundschau)

■ SPORT

Modest Claudia sets pace for three-day eventing



"Brauchitsch," says the snub-nosed teenager, introducing herself in German fashion, shaking hands and almost curtseying. She is 19, 1.64 metres (5ft 4 1/2in) tall and so unassuming, in a tomboy fashion, that you are tempted to use the familiar *Du* in conversation with her.

Yet Claudia von Brauchitsch, the daughter of a leading industrialist, is a tough customer: one of her country's foremost three-day eventers and almost as familiar a sight in equestrian circles as Britain's Princess Anne.

She is the only German woman to take part in this year's three-day event at Luhmühlen in the Lüneburg Heath alongside the Princess.

Pundits say she is the first of a generation of girls likely to make names for themselves in eventing. In Britain the men have already called it a day. At the 1975 European championships in Luhmühlen Britain was represented by a women's team only.

Last September Hanna Huppelberg-Zwöck from Eutin was the first German girl to be entered for the European championships in Burghley, England.

The reason why women are taking over is the same for both countries. There are four girls to every boy who goes in for riding, or at least for pony trials and the skills required of future three-day eventers.

Yet women were banned from eventing for years. At the 1912 Olympics only officers with their own mounts were allowed to compete. The first woman did not enter for an Olympic three-day event until 1964.

The only difference between Britain and Germany is that in Britain women have ridden to hounds for decades, whereas in Germany the practice only began about five years ago. British girls still have a head start.

As recently as three years ago Reiner Klimke, dressage world champion and the author of a book on eventing, said: "From an early age the British girls are accustomed to obstacles such as competitors are required to clear in the field; they are not afraid, whereas in Germany one girl in two is scared."

Karl Schultz, European silver medallist, now thinks Claudia von Brauchitsch is every bit as plucky as her British counterparts — and he is the first to admit that British girls "ride like demons" across country.

Claudia, daughter of the senior partner in Friedrich Flick KG, rode her first pony at the age of eight. She switched to horses in September 1974 and was soon invited to take part in courses.

"My family have given me every assistance," she says. Her father bought her three horses in England at roughly DM40,000 each and she rides her father's horses in much the same way as Princess Anne rides horses from Queen Elizabeth's stables.

Is it a case of HRH Princess Anne on the one hand and Her Financial Highness Claudia von Brauchitsch on the other?

"That is part of the story," she admits. "The others have their horses provided by a backer or a group of backers too. I suppose you might say that my father is my backer. I am the only girl whose father does this."

The backer is always there to see his daughter compete at meetings. The others say he is even more ambitious than she is. Eberhard von Brauchitsch certainly saw his daughter perform well at Luhmühlen this year. She came ninth with 51.4 points on the first day. Otto Ammermann led with 36.6, followed by Clarissa Stachan, the first British girl, with 44.6.

Heiner Schimmöller

(Die Welt, 14 July 1978)


Heading for higher things: Claudia von Brauchitsch, one of Germany's most promising woman riders, in action.
(Photo: Horstmüller)

World Cup under the microscope

NRZ NEUE RUHR ZEITUNG

Now the soccer spectacular in Argentina is over, officials of the West German FA have met in Hennef, near Bonn, to review the team's failure to keep the World Cup.

The FA executive called on its panel of coaches, headed by Jupp Derwall, to analyse the 1978 World Cup tournament for the benefit of both the national squad and soccer in the Federal Republic as a whole.

In September, the executive decided to hold a meeting with the board chairmen of Bundesliga clubs to discuss the progress of top-level soccer and other issues.

The Hennef gathering dealt in detail with FA president Hermann Neuberger's report on the World Cup. Vice-president Otto Andres and secretary Walter Baresel also reported.

The executive expressed full confidence in the president, the delegation management, chief coach Helmut Schön and his successor Jupp Derwall.

Press spokesman Dr Wilfried Gerhardt said Jupp Derwall had a contract with the FA until 1980. He would, of course, need time to adjust to his full responsibility as chief coach.

"There can be no doubt," Dr Gerhardt said, "that Jupp Derwall will be given the same powers as Helmut Schön."

(Neue Ruhr Zeitung, 10 July 1978)

German team holds on to world dressage title

WELT am SONNTAG

Harry Boldt, Uwe Schulten-Baumer and Gabriela Grillo successfully defended the world dressage title at Goodwood for the German team's third win, the others being in 1966 and 1974.

Harry Boldt, from Iserlohn, on Woycek headed the list for the Federal Republic with 1,723 points, followed by Uwe Schulten-Baumer, from Warendorf, on Slibowitz (1,684) and Gabriela Grillo, from Duisburg, on Ultimo (1,610).

Their combined total of 5,017 points was enough to maintain the team's unbeaten record since 1973. The Swiss came second with 4,743 and the Soviet Union third with 4,573 points.

Uwe Sauer, from Hamburg, on Hirtentraum demonstrated the proficiency of West German dressage trialists by reaching the top 12 despite failing to qualify for the team. He too qualified for the individual finals.

The favourite for the individual title is Christine Stückelberger of Switzerland, who scored 1,781 points on Granat in the qualifying rounds.

She is the reigning Olympic champion, but it was Granat's first outing this season and he made a few mistakes. The jury overlooked them because horse and rider made their usual top class impression.

Harry Boldt and Woycek failed to do as much, but Woycek had a temperature and Boldt did not expect him to come up to his usual impeccable standard.

Gabriela Grillo and Ultimo also encountered problems. Fräulein Grillo suffered from pre-competition stomach cramp and was unable to put her horse through his usual pre-match schedule.

"In the circumstances she did extremely well," said chief coach Schultheiss. But he was also critical. "Not everyone rode in the way juries like to see," he said.

Reiner Klimke, the 1974 individual world champion, at Goodwood as a spectator, said: "In a way I am disappointed. There was not much to see."

The standard of horsemanship at the world championships was none too high. All the teams went through their schedules more or less automatically, without risking much.

Once Christine Stückelberger had outpointed Harry Boldt, the rest of the field looked somwhat mediocre.

(Welt am Sonntag, 9 July 1978)

Still the world's best: Harry Boldt, Gabriela Grillo and Uwe Schulten-Baumert after their successful defence of the world dressage title. (Photo: Schirner)